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The reality of symbols

VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT TE AMSTERDAM

The reality of symbols

Studies in the iconology of Netherlandish art 1400-1800

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
dr. C. Datema,
hoogleraar aan de faculteit der letteren,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der letteren
op dinsdag 5 juni 1990 te 15.30 uur
in het hoofdgebouw van de universiteit, De Boelelaan 1105

door

Joannes Baptist Maria Franciscus Bedaux

geboren te Bergen op Zoom

Gary Schwartz | SDU
1990

Promotor : prof. dr. I.M. Veldman
Referent : prof. dr. A.C. Esmeijer



Contents

Acknowledgments 7

Introduction 9

The reality of symbols. The question of disguised symbolism in
Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini-portrait* 21

Fruit and fertility. Fruit symbolism in Netherlandish portraiture
of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 69

Discipline for innocence. Metaphors for education in seventeenth-
century Dutch painting 109

An exceptionally learned painter. Mattheus Verheyden's written and
painted allegories 171

*Introduction to the transcription and annotation of the manuscripts of
Mattheus Verheyden* 191

APPENDIX I. *Tafereel Van de Bevredigende Iustitie, ofte*

Geregtigheid 195

*Salus Hagensis, ofte het Groeijen en Bloeijen der Konsten, Weten-
schappen, Neringe en Hanteeringen* 227

*Saeculi Felicitas Off de gelukkigheijt des Eeuws onder de goede
Regeringe* 241

APPENDIX II. *Tafereel Van de Historie studie, Vereenigt met (Pictura)
d'schilderkonst* 257

APPENDIX III. Verso of the preliminary study of the *Tafereel Van
de Bevredigende Iustitie* 275

Bibliography accompanying the appendices 281

General bibliography 285

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge with gratitude the help of anyone who contributed to the making of this book.

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ilja Veldman, Prof. Dr. Anna Esmeijer and Jeroen Stumpel for their critical reading of the manuscript. And to Wim Honders I would like to express my gratitude for the great commitment and patience which he brought to the translation of my text. I also wish to thank Peter Schoon and Ineke Zwaan, who at crucial moments helped me correct and type the texts. For information, illustrations and other help I am indebted to Paul van den Akker, Dr. Jochen Becker, Richard Bionda, Loek Brons, Dr. Graham Birtwistle, Dr. M. van der Bijl, Dr. Christopher Brown, Mr. W.H.J. Dekker, Dr. Elisabeth Dhanens, Charles Dumas, Dr. Frans Grijzenhout, Dr. R. Grosshans, Dr. H. Hegener, Dr. Jos Koldeweij, Dr. Walter Liedtke, Hanneke Olyslager, Dr. Martin Royalton-Keisch, Prof. Dr. J.K. Steppe, Dr. Peter Sutton, Prof. Dr. Hans Vlieghe, and Dr. Lyckle de Vries. I retain happy memories of the excellent service and perfect atmosphere of the department of old and rare books of the Utrecht University Library. I am grateful to my publisher, Gary Schwartz |SDU, for the great care taken over this book, and to the Fonds voor de Geld- en Effectenhandel for its financial support. Finally I would like to thank my closest friends, especially Liesbeth, the sweetest and most supportive of all.

J.B.B.

Utrecht, December 1989

Introduction

Panofskian iconology

The four studies compiled here are of an iconological nature. At present, however, the term iconology should be clarified. After more than fifty years of academic success, during which Panofsky's iconological method gained acceptance as a scientific paradigm, iconology has reached a point where its premises and objectives are once more the subject of debate.¹

A major criticism, which was already voiced at an early stage, has been directed at Panofsky's iconographical analysis with its limited focus on the content of a work of art and its lack of concern for form or style. To quote Panofsky: 'Iconography is the branch of art history concerned with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.'² While acknowledging the achievements of iconological research, critics have sought primarily to deal with the presumptions of Panofskian iconology by pointing out its limitations. Many iconologists are unaware of these limitations, however, as they consider the meaning of a work of art to be its iconographical or 'literary' content. However, if we regard the subject matter as the content, then we are implicitly referring to something external to the representation itself. But the iconologist might argue that iconographical analysis is merely a transitional phase on the way to a deeper and more comprehensive iconological interpretation. That interpretation deals with the intrinsic meaning, or what Panofsky called the 'Dokumentsinn' or 'Wesenssinn' of a work of art.

Apart from the fact that Panofsky's concept of phased system of meaning (pre-iconographical - iconographical - iconological) is untenable, it may be argued that the more profound iconological meaning, like the pre-iconographical and iconographical analyses, also refers to something external: culture and a general view of the

world or 'Weltanschauung,' which constitutes the deeper meaning of a work of art. Johan Vanbergen, one of Panofsky's more recent critics, draws the inevitable conclusion that the deeper meaning offered by the iconological method contributes to our knowledge of culture rather than to our understanding of the artistic phenomenon. Consequently, if the methodology of the study of art history were based exclusively on iconographical and iconological analysis on the one hand, and purely formal-stylistic categories on the other, art history would be a study of the undifferentiated conceptual world of a culture, ignoring the history of specifically artistic phenomena and the complex structure of their development. According to Vanbergen, the key question in art-historical interpretation should be whether a representation manages to express a specific meaning beyond the illustrative significance derived from texts.³ The real criticism, therefore, is leveled not so much at the iconographical and iconological analysis *per se* as at its status as the ultimate goal of art-historical interpretation.

The way in which Panofsky and his followers have employed this method in interpreting specific groups of artworks such as early Netherlandish and seventeenth-century Dutch painting has also come under attack. At first, iconology was successfully applied to Italian Renaissance art, although iconological research on Netherlandish painting has certainly proved no less rewarding. Closely linked with the latter are the concepts of 'disguised symbolism' and 'pseudo-realism,' both of which have assumed the nature of scientific paradigms. The studies in this book, covering four centuries of Netherlandish painting, all relate to those two paradigms, which in the past few decades have largely defined the contours of the iconological study of Netherlandish painting.

Disguised symbolism

In *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn puts forward the view that 'normal science' is not learned by studying the principles and theories of a given scientific specialization, if indeed they have been formulated at all, but by studying classic examples of concrete solutions.⁴ This is well illustrated by Panofsky's article 'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait,' which has familiarized generations of art historians with the iconology of early Netherlandish painting, and when I started teaching university students, I was expected to discuss the article during seminars. The first thing that struck me after a close rereading was that the objects in the painting, which figured as 'specific symbols' in Panofsky's interpretation, seemed to have been

chosen arbitrarily, and the interpretation itself was anything but coherent. Presumably, I thought, this was because Panofsky had taken too little account either of the sacramental dogma of marriage or the history of the wedding ceremony. Instead of questioning Panofsky's theory, I felt challenged to expand and, if necessary, modify his interpretation. But my discovery that it was even possible to translate the range of abstract sacramental themes into 'disguised symbols' raised my doubts about such an interpretation. After all, it implied that van Eyck had carefully and ingeniously selected domestic objects to play the dual role of reality (with the symbolism inherent in reality) and 'specific symbol' (in the sense that these objects simultaneously carried meanings projected onto them by van Eyck). He would then have organized them in such a way - caused them to be absorbed, as it were, by their surroundings - that they could serve as disguised allusions to the main themes of sacramental dogma.

My doubts grew as it became increasingly clear that the representation was fairly easy to interpret within the context of the contemporary marriage ceremony. In fact, it became more and more apparent that the *Arnolfini portrait* was an accurate depiction of a specific wedding, and therefore of the appropriate customs and gifts. Thus the point was reached where the esoteric 'disguised symbolism' had to compete with the reality of social practice, and the question arose as to whether Panofsky's paradigm should be maintained with respect to this painting. I found myself facing a fundamental dilemma with regard to interpretive methods based on the existence of 'pseudo-realism' or 'disguised symbolism.' If symbols are disguised to the extent that they remain entirely consistent with (historical) reality, as implied by the concept of 'disguised symbolism,' it is no longer possible to prove that the painter indeed intended them as symbols. The existence of disguised symbols may occasionally be plausible, particularly in some examples of profane art, where there is an obvious discrepancy between faithfulness to life and the painted world, and this, precisely, is the tantalizing aspect of 'disguised symbolism.' The more accomplished the painter's use of it, the more elusive it is to the scholar. Paradoxically, we can only speak of 'disguised symbols' if the disguise is inadequate, and if these symbols betray themselves as such. The *Arnolfini portrait*, however, is impeccable in this respect. Nor does any contemporary text support the assumption of an invention based on 'disguised symbolism.' In short, I no longer saw any reason to continue to view this work in the light of Panofsky's hypothesis.

Although I reject the concept of 'disguised symbolism' as an interpretive model for the *Arnolfini portrait*, I would like to apply it here in

order to demonstrate my argument. The reader must therefore switch between two worlds - the world according to Panofsky, in which reality acquires an additional symbolic value, and a world in which symbols are an intrinsic part of reality. I am aware that this is no easy task. Nevertheless, I have opted for this construction, as I believe that a consistently developed Panofskian interpretation - because of its very improbability - would refute the theory more convincingly than my simpler alternative, which is that the portrait is a depiction of a specific wedding.

Panofsky provides insufficient grounds for analysing the *Arnolfini portrait* in terms of 'disguised symbolism,' let alone for identifying this as a basic trend in early Netherlandish painting. I therefore believe that the rejection of Panofsky's paradigm for the interpretation of this 'profane' picture must have consequences for our interpretation of sacred art.

Many have welcomed that iconology as a possible alternative to stylistic criticism based on subjective criteria. Iconology, it is argued, is more scientific, and its claims are easier to verify. Whether these can be demonstrated is highly questionable, but the iconological approach has nevertheless gained widespread popularity. As mentioned earlier, the linking of works of art and texts is central to Panofskian iconology. And although iconology was originally meant to unveil deeper layers of meaning in a work of art, the texts have instead gained dominance and distracted us from the art itself, which has disappeared from view beneath the increasing burden of cultural and historical connotations. Early Netherlandish painting in particular has been the subject of this approach. The 'disguised symbols' which these paintings are said to contain have given researchers the opportunity, or even the pretext, to consult the countless contemporary texts available and transform each painting into a theological or liturgical treatise. These reservations concerning the principle of 'disguised symbolism' in both profane and sacred art mean that we will have to reconsider whether the plethora of interpretations of early Netherlandish painting are based on iconographical and iconological analyses - which implies a true relationship between word and image - or purely on iconological fiction. I fear the latter is the case.

Pseudo-realism

Although the concept of 'disguised symbolism' was originally applied to fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting, it was transferred in a scarcely modified form to the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. What now became pivotal was the concept of 'pseudo-realism,' which likewise presupposes that the realistic appearance of a representation hides layers of meaning that are crucial to our understanding of the image. Essential to the painting of this period, it is argued, are its edifying or moral lessons. The concept of 'pseudo-realism' is a corollary of another assumption with far-reaching consequences, which is that all painting of this period reflects the classical notion of 'docere et delectare.' Where this didactic aspect is not apparent, as is supposedly the case in genre painting, it cannot, so it is claimed, be anything but hidden. This again raises the same problem, since, if symbols are so well concealed as to be perfectly congruous with reality, it is impossible to prove that they were ever intended as symbols - unless we can show that the classical notion of 'docere' was indeed a *sine qua non* in executing a painting.

A recent study has shown that art theory between 1620 and 1670 - the heyday of Dutch painting in terms of both quality and quantity - contains no reference whatsoever to didactic objectives in painting.⁵ This is not to say that paintings with a moralistic or didactic intent were completely absent in this period; on the contrary, very many were produced. However, we may assume on the basis of these sources that the edifying aspect was certainly no absolute norm. We will even have to accustom ourselves again to the idea that the demand and supply of pictures could be determined solely by the visual pleasure they provided, and that people could enjoy a picture without it having an intentional didactic content.

As far as the principle of 'pseudo-realism' is concerned, the first thing that strikes us is that there are countless genre pieces to which it simply cannot be applied. The problem is that a great deal of seventeenth-century painting was lumped together as 'genre painting' during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even a cursory glance at the influential exhibition catalogue *Tot lering en vermaak* shows that the category designated as genre painting includes quite a few pictures that lack a sufficient degree of realism to be deemed pseudo-realist.⁶ In addition to a number of pure allegories, the catalogue contains genre paintings whose symbolism is - quite deliberately - only partly disguised, and whose symbols betray themselves as such. For example, the skull beneath the feet of Jan Miense Molenaer's *Vrouw Wereld*, though apparently incongruous in the context, may serve as a key to the interpretation of this painting as an allegory of vanity. There are quite a few equally ambivalent genre pieces, many of them by Jan Steen, which suggest that if the painter had really intended to convey a moral, he would have done so explicitly and unambiguously. We should bear in mind that it is especially this category of only partly realistic paintings that has

served to lend credibility to the principle of 'pseudo-realism'.

What I want to stress is the lack of grounds to substantiate the concept of 'pseudo-realism.' Genre painting does not have to be either realistic or moralistic, and there is consequently no need for disguise. What remains to be established is the size of the group of truly pseudo-realistic genre pieces, if indeed it exists.

In a recent interview, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann revealed that Panofsky had once confided to him that his followers had reduced his method to a mere caricature. A similar thing, Haverkamp-Begemann added, happened to Eddy de Jongh. In his opinion, the criticism should therefore not be directed at the two scholars but at their followers.⁷ I believe, however, that we should strike at the very root, since caricature, if this is the appropriate term, is inherent in the theory itself. This became particularly manifest in the work of followers. A recent example is Josua Bruyn's article 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape paintings' in the exhibition catalogue *Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting*. Bruyn elevates the painted landscape above mere 'delectare' by burdening this category, too, with religious and moralistic ideas.⁸ His attempt to bring land-scape into line with the other categories of painting was a logical extension of the pseudo-realist principle that art should contain a moral. And why, Bruyn argues, should landscape painting be exempt from this didactic re-quirement?

As early as the first half of the 1970s landscape painting was a problematical category in iconology, an issue which provoked a heated, if somewhat embarrassed, debate. Instead of becoming a counter-example contradicting the theory, it was generally set aside as a puzzle which could not yet be solved. Bruyn eventually managed to solve it by taking the logical step which no one else dared take for fear that the extreme improbability of its predictable outcome would invalidate the paradigm. This fear also seems to have informed Eddy de Jongh's review of the above-mentioned catalogue, which predicted that Bruyn's article, though significant and useful, would be 'grist to the mill of those who have recently launched an attack on Dutch iconology, and who threaten to throw out the baby with the bath water.'⁹ Given the negative response to Bruyn's article, this fear has indeed proved justified.

The criticism leveled at de Jongh's followers largely concerns the use of emblematics in interpretation. The fundamental role they have ascribed to emblems has led iconologists to refer to their approach as the 'emblematic method.' The increasing misuse of this literary genre prompted de Jongh, who had initiated the use of emblematics as a *clavis interpretandi*, to condemn its reckless application. In the intro-

duction to his article 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries,' de Jongh observes that art historians 'too often [...] neglect to ask whether a real tie can have existed between emblem and painting. It should be superfluous to have to point out that congruencies in form between an emblem and a painting do not automatically imply congruent contents. Even a close formal resemblance between an emblem and a motif in a painting need not indicate any but the most general similarity in painting. Only rarely is the emblem a true *clavis interpretandi*.'¹⁰ De Jongh subsequently draws attention to a group of emblems by Jacob Cats, of which the visual component consists of a hand holding a bunch of grapes by the stem, and whose meaning may be transferred to a large series of portraits with the same motif. My analysis of this emblematic application in 'Fruit and fertility' demonstrates that de Jongh has made the same mistake as the one for which he criticized his followers. This, too, I would describe as an instance of pictorial homonymy, involving superficial congruencies in form between emblem and painting, but not in meaning. This, incidentally, is a phenomenon that also occurs quite frequently when captioned prints serve as interpretive keys.

In theory, it is possible that representations were indeed based directly on emblems. But in comparison with the total output of genre pieces, still lifes, and portraits with accessories, this category is entirely negligible and probably does not exceed half a dozen. On the other hand, the academic success which results from tracing such so-called direct relationships is inversely proportional to the significance of this category. To my mind, therefore, it has distorted the view of seventeenth-century painting and painterly practice. Emblemata have obscured rather than clarified our view of seventeenth-century painting.

Like Panofsky's study of the *Arnolfini portrait*, de Jongh's article 'Grape symbolism' may be considered a classic example of iconology. I began to question de Jongh's interpretation of the bunch of grapes as symbolizing second virginity, when this proved incompatible with my interpretation of fruit as an accessory in children's portraits. As I suggested in 'Discipline for innocence,' such accessories would characterize the sitter as the product of a fertile marriage, and at the same time as the product of a good upbringing. I was unable to accept that the grape would be the only kind of fruit which proved an exception to this.

The criticism in 'Grape symbolism' opened up the possibility of seeing the grape, too, as a visual metaphor of education, which painters used to embellish portraits of families and children. These metaphors implicitly refer to an educational ideal, which is not made

explicit in the paintings themselves. If we wish to reconstruct this ideal, an interesting and useful activity in itself, we should beware of overestimating the meaning of this accessory. The emphasis which iconologists have placed on it might even give the impression that it is the main feature of the picture. Like 'disguised symbols,' the accessory has been used as a pretext for imposing on paintings a range of assumed cultural and historical observations. This display of erudition by iconologists has created an inflated notion of the painter's invention regarding the content of his work. Accessories, as the term indicates, were of secondary importance, and were included primarily for formal reasons. Their meaning was not the most important thing and it was in any case fairly unspecific. For instance, to enliven a family or children's portrait, the painter would make a random selection from a large body of metaphors, which allowed a great deal of variation. If accessories in portraits are interpreted in this manner, their production and reception may make better sense.

Pseudo-realism and allegory

Paradoxically, iconologists seem more inclined to read allegorical meanings into so-called genre paintings than to fathom the allegorical genre proper. Their preoccupation with interpreting genre pieces as if they were allegories has affected our conception of the role played by the allegorical genre in this country during the eighteenth century. Since the eighteenth-century observer was supposedly unable to detect hidden allegorical meanings in seventeenth-century genre paintings, it was necessary to trivialize the role of traditional allegory during that period.

Now that the symbolic content of the average seventeenth-century genre piece has been reduced to more 'realistic' proportions, we need to reconsider our judgment of the eighteenth-century view of this category. It has lost credibility as a ground for assuming that the traditional allegory was losing favor by the early eighteenth century. Moreover, we only have to look at the programs by the eighteenth-century painter Mattheus Verheyden for his allegorical decorations in the town hall of The Hague, to appreciate the prominent place allegory and allegorical thought had in that period. These programs, discussed in 'An exceptionally learned painter,' are unique in the history of Western European art. They contain detailed descriptions of Verheyden's allegories, as well as an explanation of surprisingly complex meanings. Even the tiniest details are apparently pregnant with meaning. Moreover, and this is what makes the paintings so special, Verheyden elucidates his account in elaborate

notes and glosses, relating the meaning of the individual elements of his allegories to both well-known and more obscure writings.

Verheyden's paintings can only be fully understood through their programs. In this respect these allegories differ from the usual genre piece, which the contemporary viewer would have understood directly without having to uncover complex layers of meaning.

Despite the criticism leveled at iconology, especially that of Netherlandish painting, I believe that - besides new approaches - traditional iconology will continue to play an important role. I do not share de Jongh's misgivings that the critics of Dutch iconology may be throwing the baby out with the bath water. Unless of course the iconological method is exclusively identified with the paradigms of 'disguised symbolism' and 'pseudo-realism,' since these, I am sure, have had their day. It is now necessary to reconstruct 'Dutch iconology,' and it has been my objective in this book to contribute to this effort.

Notes

1. For this criticism, see, for example, *Ikongraphie und Ikonologie. Theorien, Entwicklung, Probleme. Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem*, ed. Ekkehard Kaemmerling, vol. 1, Cologne 1979, and J.F.H.H. Vanbergen, *Voorstelling en betekenis. Theorie van de kunsthistorische interpretatie*, Louvain, Assen, and Maastricht 1986.
2. Erwin Panofsky, *Iconography and iconology. An introduction to the study of Renaissance art*, in idem, *Meaning in the visual arts*, Harmondsworth 1955, p. 51.
3. Vanbergen, op. cit. (note 1).
4. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago 1970². Kuhn uses the term 'exemplars.'
5. Eric J. Sluiter, 'Belering en verhulling? Enkele 17de-eeuwse teksten over de schilderkunst en de iconologische benadering van Noordnederlandse schilderijen uit deze periode,' *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4 (1988), pp. 3-28.
6. Exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1976.
7. Roelof van Gelder, 'Gesprek met kunsthistoricus Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann,' *NRC Handelsblad*, Nov. 17, 1989.
8. Josua Bruyn, 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth-century landscape paintings,' in exhib. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), Boston (Museum of Fine Arts), Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art), *Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting* (by Peter C. Sutton et al.), Amsterdam, Boston, and Philadelphia 1987, pp. 84-103.
9. E. de Jongh, 'Binnenskamers de wereld doorwandelen. Hollandse landschapsschilderkunst uit de zeventiende eeuw,' *NRC Handelsblad*, Oct. 23, 1987.
10. E. de Jongh, 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries,' *Simiolus* 7 (1974), p. 166.

The reality of symbols. The question of disguised symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait

Reality and symbol

Fifty years ago, Erwin Panofsky wrote a pioneering article on Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini portrait* which not only confirmed but also gave a more specific meaning to Weale and Brockwell's theory that the panel depicts a 'newly married couple.' With the help of the concepts of *fides levata* and *fides manualis* Panofsky plausibly argued that the painting represents the contracting of an actual marriage. Through an ingenious reinterpretation of source material he managed to identify the panel as the one Karel van Mander called '[...] a scene [...] of a man and a woman taking each other by the right hand as if they were contracting a marriage; and they are married by Fides, who joined them to each other.'¹

Yet it is not on account of this in itself admirable achievement that the article may be called pioneering. It owes its status as a 'major minor classic' rather to the introduction of the notion of 'disguised symbolism.' This concept initiated a new approach to the interpretation with respect to early Netherlandish painting, an approach which has proved both fruitful and hazardous.

The present article is a critique of Panofsky's method. It examines in some detail Panofsky's application of the concept of 'hidden symbolism' to the painting by van Eyck, and dwells on the negative implications of both the terminology and the method.

The picture itself is unique in the history of painting (plate I). No comparable full-length double portrait, painted on the occasion of the contracting of a marriage, is known before van Eyck, and we do not come across similar representations until many decades later. At any rate, this portrait - along with its possible disguised symbols - is an unparalleled document on the practice of marriage in this particular period.

The representation can be made more accessible when we see it in the light of documentary evidence as to how marriages actually took place at the time. Conversely, those few remaining documents can themselves be illuminated by van Eyck's detailed visual evidence.

This is essential for a proper evaluation of Panofsky's conclusions. Should it appear that the acts and objects represented form part of the marriage ritual, then Panofsky's assumption that the painting incorporates an esoteric 'disguised symbolism' comes into competition with the more common-sense notion that it records an actual event. This forces us to ask ourselves whether the continued use of Panofsky's term can be justified at all. In doing so, we touch upon a central problem inherent in all methods of interpretation which assume the existence of 'pseudo-realism' or 'disguised symbolism' in art. If symbols are disguised to such an extent that they correspond with reality - a correspondence implied by the concept of 'disguised symbolism,' by what means can one prove that the painter actually intended them to be symbols? Only in those cases, particularly in profane art, where the painted world lacks verisimilitude, can one be reasonably sure that symbolism is intended. This accounts for the tantalizing aspect of 'disguised symbolism.' The more perfect the application of this type of symbolism by the painter, the more it defies analysis by the researcher. Paradoxically, we can only speak safely of 'disguised symbolism' if the disguise is inadequate and the symbols betray themselves as such.

In the case of the *Arnolfini portrait*, the question is whether we can detect such an inadequacy in the disguise. Therefore, the obvious way to begin is to form as clear a picture as we can of what a marriage signified to van Eyck's contemporaries, and how it was contracted. Even if we are unable to determine exactly how closely the representation corresponds to an actual marriage contracted in a Flemish town in 1434 between well-to-do parties, we will have some idea of the relation between image and actuality.

Marriage in theory and practice

In the first place, marriage is a contract on the basis of consent between two persons, usually from different families. It is a momentous social event accompanied by traditional customs and rituals. For Catholics, it is also a sacrament with an attendant theological dogma - a dogma which, as it happens, emphatically acknowledges that marriage is a contract.²

Examining the painting in this light, one would expect the essentially abstract sacramental and dogmatic range of ideas to be visual-

ized by means of disguised symbols, and the essentially practical ritual acts and customs to be recorded more directly. These acts, however, may also be related to the sacramental teachings, if only because profane customs were inherent in, or assimilated with, the theological views of the day, while sacramental dogma also played a major role in the practice of marriage. In short, there was an interaction between the views on what marriage signified and the way in which it was contracted.

Let us begin our investigation of the various aspects of marriage in the fifteenth century by examining marriage as a contract. When dealing with this facet it should be borne in mind that in the course of the Middle Ages the church managed to tighten its grip on - and eventually monopolized - the right to contract marriages. Hence canon law ultimately determined the marriage laws.³

Marriage as a contract

Before the Council of Trent, marriage was classed as a contract in canon law.⁴ The contractual side is expressed by the *iunctio* of the hands of the couple in the painting. This gesture developed from the *traditio puellae*, in which the guardian of the bride, usually the father, lays the woman's hand into that of her future husband - an act which was later performed by the priest and eventually by the pair themselves.

From the thirteenth century onward the *iunctio* also plays a part in the Christian ritual of betrothal, and comes to signify a promise of marriage known as *fides* (*fides pactionis*). At the same time this gesture is used in the marriage ceremony itself, where it serves as an expression of the formal marriage contract under the same name, but with a different meaning. Here, *fides* (*foi, fides manualis, foi de son corps*, etc.) does not refer to the promise of marriage but to a promise of marital faith (*fides conjugii*).⁵ The joined hands of the couple in the painting may well represent this legal act. The raised hand of the man presents a separate problem.

In several dioceses in Belgium and the north of France in the late Middle Ages, the couple gave themselves to each other by joining hands and, raising the other hand, making a gesture reminiscent of an oath, after the priest had uttered the words: 'Levez la main aux saints.'⁶ This is the only known formula which may provide an explanation for the raised right hand of the man in the painting. The term *fides levata*, introduced by Panofsky as if it were a concept current in the marriage ritual, is not substantiated by documentary evidence.⁷

Panofsky's statement that both gestures, particularly the *dextrarum*

iunctio, are indispensable to a legitimate sacramental marriage is incorrect. Admittedly, the *dextrarum iunctio* does play a part within the ritual, but, as we shall see, dogma as well as canon law merely require a declaration of consent (*consensus*) expressed in words - a requirement van Eyck presumably took into account when he conceived his painting, as will be shown later.⁸

Incidentally, the fact that Arnolfini used his left hand to perform the *iunctio* has caused quite a stir in the art-historical literature. It got Panofsky into serious methodological trouble, since the gesture did not tally with his thesis that the *dextrarum iunctio* was imperative to the contracting of marriages. In order to uphold this thesis he had to have recourse to the unlikely auxiliary hypothesis that van Eyck 'contrary to ritual and contrary, also, to all the other representations of a marriage ceremony,' had been led by considerations of a compositional nature.

This dilemma would seem to be resolved neatly by Peter Schabacker's theory that the panel represents a morganatic marriage, in which a man marries a woman of inferior rank.⁹ In such a marriage, the wife and her children, if any, did not assume the rank of the husband, and were excluded from hereditary claims. In a morganatic marriage ceremony, *iunctio* was performed with the left rather than the right hand. An awkward consequence of this theory, however, is that it does not tie in with the traditional identification of the figures - an identification which Schabacker duly questioned. Since Giovanni Arnolfini and Jeanne de Cename (or Giovanna Cenami) were of equal rank, they could no longer be the persons portrayed. As a result, Schabacker was compelled to disregard the old inventories which unambiguously identified the man in the painting as Arnolfini. Understandably, this went too far for other scholars. Elisabeth Dhanens came up with an ingenious compromise which retained the family name but replaced Giovanni by his brother Michele. According to Dhanens, the known facts concerning Michele Arnolfini and his wife do not contradict the circumstances under which a morganatic marriage was contracted. Therefore, she argues, it is legitimate to postulate a morganatic liaison and identify the couple as Michele Arnolfini and his wife Elisabeth.¹⁰

However, denying that Giovanni is the person portrayed also seems slightly contrived. Like Jan van Eyck, he moved in the circles of the court of the Duke of Burgundy, so they were certainly acquainted. As the most prominent member of the Arnolfini family, he was the one most likely to have been depicted here. Schabacker's explanation is not the only possible one, however. Not every marriage contracted by joining the left and the right hand need be morganatic. The left-handed gesture, which occurs quite frequently

in miniature painting (figs. 1-3), also formed part of a marriage contracted according to the ancient codification of secular law, which did not necessarily preclude a marriage in accordance with the rites of the Church.¹¹ In a manuscript of Froissart's *Chroniques*, for instance, the marriage between Richard II of England and Isabella of France - parties of equal rank - is depicted with a left-handed *iunctio* (fig. 4). This marriage could not possibly be called a morganatic liaison. The couple were married in the royal tent, somewhere between Calais and Ardres, in 1396, and their union was consecrated three days later by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Church of St. Nicholas at Calais.¹²

The left-handed *iunctio*, for that matter, also occurred in church marriages; in various dioceses, it was customary to lay the right hand of the woman into the left hand of her spouse.¹³

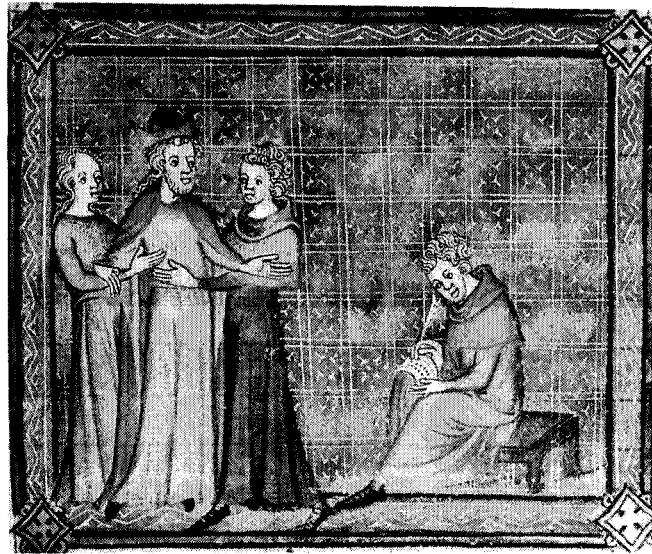
These examples of non-morganatic left-handed marriage rituals, both sacred and secular, as well as the iconographical tradition presumably based on them, allow us to maintain the time-honored identification of the man as Giovanni Arnolfini. What is more, they support the claim that van Eyck was allowed to give fair, free rein to his aesthetic preferences. Granting this, it is even possible that the choice of the left-handed *iunctio* was indeed determined by the composition, as Panofsky argues.

There are a limited number of details in the painting which lend themselves to iconological interpretation as disguised symbols. The most obvious are the candle, the clogs, the mirror and the dog. Panofsky's explanation by no means exhausts the possibilities for interpreting them. As we shall see, the interpretable details lend themselves equally well to an interpretation simply as objects one might encounter in marriage ritual.

One of the details in the painting explained by Panofsky as a disguised symbol is the candle burning in daylight. He first calls it a symbol of the all-seeing wisdom of God and a requirement when taking an oath, but then qualifies it as a marriage candle *in disguise*. There may be no need to go this far, however. In France and Flanders it was customary to light a candle when drawing up certain legal acts,¹⁴ among which we may include marriage. Not only did canon law class marriage as a contract, but Catholic dogma expressly stipulated that 'the marriage union is effected in the same way as the bond in material contracts.'¹⁵ The 'marriage candle' brought into the interpretation by Panofsky has no bearing whatsoever on the candle lit when taking an oath - if this were indeed customary. Nor does Panofsky provide source material to prove the existence of a tradition at the time of lighting a candle in the house of a newly married couple.



1. *The marriage of Adam and Eve and The marriage of Sponsus and Sponsa.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. 270b, fol. 6.



2. *The marriage of Hosea*. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, ms. 9634-35, fol. 155r.

3. *The marriage of Tobias and Sarah*. London, British Museum, ms. Add. 10043, fol. 207v.



4. *The marriage of Richard II of England and Isabella of France.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2646, fol. 245v.

The placing of the couple in a room has repeatedly led art historians to characterize Arnolfini's marriage as clandestine, since in their opinion legal marriages were only contracted in front of the church (*in facie ecclesiae*).¹⁶ Canon law distinguishes different sorts of *matrimonia clandestina*. There were clandestine marriages which were contracted in the presence of witnesses, as well as marriages where there was not a single witness present, which could not be legally proved.¹⁷ From a study of civil lawsuits in the town of Rochester around 1400 it appeared that a large number related to the legal validity of marriages. Here, only those clandestine marriages that could be confirmed by two or more witnesses were legally acknowledged.¹⁸ Canon law, too, required at least two witnesses for a legal marriage.¹⁹ This explains why, besides Jan van Eyck (who, from his testimonial signature, witnessed the event), there was a second witness present, as we may infer from the mirror image in the painting (plate II). All this, however, by no means implies that Arnolfini's marriage was clandestine, any more than the royal marriage between Richard II and Isabella would have been. It is very likely that Arnolfini, too, would have had his marriage consecrated afterward.²⁰ Neither does the absence of a priest and a church necessarily imply that the marriage in the painting was clandestine. The social status of the couple makes it highly unlikely that they would have performed a clandestine marriage, let alone have it immortalized in a painting. A clandestine marriage was sinful, and what respectable Catholic couple would be proud of that?²¹ At a later stage we will suggest another reason why the married couple might have been depicted in this particular sort of room.

Traditions with respect to marriage as a contract

At the time when the bridegroom was legally bound to pay for the transfer of the *Munt* (i.e., responsibility for, and power over, the wife), guardianship over the bride was given to the groom by her guardian - usually the father - in exchange for a bride-wealth (*Brautschatz* or *Muntschatz*). An advance payment, the so-called *arrha*, was made at the actual marriage.

This transfer was accompanied by symbolic acts expressing the power of the groom over the bride.²² This symbolism continued to exist even after the woman acquired a greater measure of independence, which, among other things, implied that her wishes were taken into account and that the bride-wealth - no longer given in exchange - was put at her personal disposal.²³

Illustrative of the power of the husband over the wife was a

custom according to which the man placed his foot on that of his wife - a symbolic act which, in the course of time, manifested itself under various new guises. The memory of the original meaning thus faded, or indeed disappeared entirely. In one variant the groom took off his shoes, which the wife then put back on his feet - an act not entirely free from sexual innuendo. In the Middle Ages, it was quite usual for a man to give his future bride shoes or clogs,²⁴ a custom which seems to have survived into the present century.²⁵ Of particular interest to us, since it is contemporary with Arnolfini's marriage, is a paragraph in the 1425 *Stadboek* (City register) of Groningen, from which we learn that, under the economies in the marriage ceremony decreed by the municipal authorities, the bride and groom were prohibited from giving pattens to their friends - a measure which presupposes a common usage.²⁶ It is very much the question whether the original meaning of the shoe ritual was still understood in the late Middle Ages. However, in very many cases it is not so much the meaning of the ritual as the ritual itself that counts. Frequently the ritual merely serves a general signal; the footwear simply refers to marriage. It is quite possible that the red sandals and the pattens in the painting are to be understood in this general sense.

Panofsky's interpretation of the pattens (he ignores the sandals) as a reference to the hallowing of the ground of the room by the *benedictio thalami* would seem to be untenable, particularly from the viewpoint of realism, which, after all, Panofsky considers inherent in 'disguised symbolism.' Pattens were not usually worn indoors, let alone in a room like this. Their presence may be called realistic only when justifiable as part of the ritual. The latter may very well be the case, to judge by the wealth of sources from all parts of Europe and widely different periods which make it plain that the shoe ritual, in one form or another, was considered an essential part of the wedding ceremony.²⁷ Panofsky's selection of pictorial evidence to establish the association of removed pattens with hallowed ground also made him disregard common practice. Thus it is not surprising that in the copy after the *Deposition* by the Master of Flémalle, Nicodemus, supporting Christ's body while descending a ladder, has taken off his pattens (fig. 5). In an act like this, such footwear is utterly inconceivable. A similar argument applies to the other examples adduced to support his interpretation, in which the pattens have been removed since the persons in question are kneeling.²⁸

Other objects which played a major role in the transfer were the ring, the cloak and the hat. In the course of time the *arrha* itself took on the shape of the ring, which was given to the bride by her groom as an advance payment of the bride-wealth. Later on the ring also came to symbolize love and faithfulness, and the bride too began to present her husband with one.



5. After the Master of Flémalle, *Deposition*, central panel of a triptych. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.

One of the two rings worn by Giovanna is no doubt an *arrha* or wedding ring. However, her remaining jewelry, such as the other ring and the pearl necklace, may also be *arrhae*. If not, they may form part of the *Morgengabe* - with which we will deal in greater detail later on. Since we cannot be certain whether the Arnolfinis exchanged rings - a usage which only gained currency at a much later date - Giovanni's ring cannot be regarded as a wedding ring without further proof.²⁹

Apart from the *arrhae*, we have the hat and the cloak, which served in the ritual as prescribed symbols of power, the hat referring to the transfer of power, and the cloak embodying the idea of protection.³⁰ The husband held sway over his wife, but he also had to offer her protection. Arnolfini's immense black straw hat and his purple cloak, fully trimmed and lined with fur (both apparently of Italian origin), should presumably be interpreted in this sense. The fact that Giovanni, while making his marriage vows to Giovanna, is wearing the hat prescribed by ritual may be considered highly remarkable in the iconography of marriage representations. Another salient detail is that marriage regulations in Italy prescribed either a fur cloak (the so-called *cosina*) or the purple *chlamys*.³¹

On the morning after the wedding night, the bride received her so-called *Morgengabe*. This was the groom's personal love gift, usually considerably smaller than the bride-wealth and often blended with the latter. This *Morgengabe*, which might consist of valuables such as trinkets (although completely furnished rooms especially for brides have been recorded), was stipulated in a contract before the marriage took place, but did not pass into the hands of the bride until the morning after the wedding night.

The precious amber-colored prayer beads on the wall (the later rosary) were an all but obligatory wedding present from the groom to his bride, and may well have been part of the *Morgengabe*, along with Giovanna's jewelry.³²

Marriage as a sacrament

Although Panofsky mentions marriage as a sacrament, this aspect is dealt with in an almost equally superficial or indirect manner as the other facets of the marriage ceremony, not only by Panofsky but also, and more surprisingly, by the great number of scholars who have since tried to interpret this marriage scene.

When we bear in mind that marriage was defined as a sacrament at this time, a general knowledge of sacramental dogma - particularly with respect to marriage - is essential to a thorough understanding of

the nature of the painting and its representation.

The doctrine of the sacraments was fully elaborated in the works of Thomas Aquinas. His teachings, echoes of which are also found in canon law, had a great impact in the late Middle Ages and have continued to exert great influence in the Roman Catholic church up to the present day.³³ His sacramental teachings may therefore appropriately be consulted for the interpretation of van Eyck's picture.³⁴

In the *Summa theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas gives an exposition of the sacraments in general before discussing them separately. The seven sacraments, he explains, are means of grace to conquer sin. Given to man by God as a way of obtaining bliss, they issued from the wound in Christ's side at the Crucifixion, and derive their healing power from his Passion. The close relationship between sacrament and Passion is pivotal to sacramental teaching.³⁵ The teachings on the sacrament of marriage may be summarized as follows. The final cause (*causa finalis*) of marriage is procreation and the avoidance of fornication. Christ hallowed marriage as a sacrament when, through his Passion, he made it the image of the union with his church, thus reestablishing the indissoluble nature of marriage. Simultaneously, he invested the sacrament of marriage with the power of mercy resulting from his Passion, which in the case of this particular sacrament is a remedy against fornication. The efficient cause (*causa efficiens*) of marriage is *consensus*, the mutual voluntary agreement to marry, and the implied acceptance of cohabitation. Insofar as *consensus* must be expressed in words (*per verba de praesenti*), marriage should be regarded not only as a sacrament but also as a contract. Since cohabitation (*copula carnalis*) within marriage has the same status as *copula carnalis fornicatoria*, which is sinful, something needs to be added to the former to make it right. This addition consists of the three marital blessings: offspring (*proles*), faith (*fides*), and sacrament (*sacramentum*). These blessings render sexual intercourse morally right, and, through it, marriage. This does not imply that *copula* within marriage is invariably free of sin. It applies only to sexual intercourse which comes from a desire for offspring. It follows that the avoidance of fornication is inextricably linked with the intention to produce offspring.

Consensus

The only requirement for a legitimate sacramental marriage is a statement of *consensus* expressed in words. Since there can be no marriage without these *verba*, we may have expected van Eyck to include in his painting banderoles with a statement of *consensus*. This

would have reduced the realism of the picture, however. The painter's decision to depict the moment of the *fides manualis* may be seen as a substitute, for it distinctly implies the act of *consensus*. Of course, it is also possible that he painted a statement of *consensus* on the picture frame. That there were words on the frame can be gathered from a description of the painting in the inventory of the Spanish royal collection made in 1700, which Panofsky did not take into account. From this description we can not only infer that the painting was known to represent an actual marriage ceremony, but also that it had lines of verse on the frame. The purport of these apparently 'Ovidian' verses can no longer be traced, but they may well have alluded to the *consensus*.³⁶ As already noted, *copula* is implicit in *consensus*. *Copula* is the object of *consensus*. Indeed, nothing is more significant for *consensus* than cohabitation, which renders marriage indissoluble. Contemporary representations show newly married couples in bed - a bed which is consecrated by a priest before the couple proceeds to the consummation of the marriage. It should be stressed that in these cases we are not dealing with portraits. Be this as it may, this aspect of the sacrament was naturally not a real option for van Eyck in painting this commissioned portrait. But even if the couple are not couched, the bed in the room immediately calls up associations with the *consummatio*.³⁷

The marriage goods

Inextricably linked with marriage are the three marital blessings (*bona matrimonii*) already mentioned: *proles* (offspring, linked with chastity), *fides* (not the theological virtue, but marital faith), and *sacramentum* (not only indivisibility, but also those things that result from marriage as a token of Christ's union with his church).

If the dog is indeed a disguised symbol of marital faith (*fides*), as Panofsky maintains, one might justifiably identify it as a disguised symbol for the second marital blessing.³⁸ However, while the interpretation of the dog as *fides* has never been seriously challenged, there has been no mention whatsoever in the literature of the other marital blessings, of which *proles* even precedes *fides* in order of importance. If there is one aspect which one would expect to be translated into disguised symbols it would be the *abstracta* of sacramental dogma. To be sure, there are details in the painting which may very well stand for the other two marital blessings. These putative symbolic bearers of sacramental dogma are the statuette of St. Margaret and the brush attached to it, and the mirror. Let us begin with the latter, since it occupies such a central position in the representation.

In sacramental doctrine, there is a direct relationship between the Passion and the sacraments issuing from the wound in Christ's side, which derive their effect - the healing power of mercy - from this very origin. The best-known visualization of this relationship is in the Antwerp *Altarpiece of the seven sacraments* from the milieu of Rogier van der Weyden, in which the central figure of the crucified Christ is set in a church and surrounded by scenes of the seven sacraments.³⁹ A variation of this altarpiece is the central panel of the *Altarpiece of Cambrai*, which depicts the sacraments, the Crucifixion, and other scenes from the Passion.⁴⁰

In this light, it is appropriate that the mirror frame in the *Arnolfini portrait* is decorated with scenes from the Passion, the more so in that it follows from sacramental doctrine that Christ himself represented marriage through his Passion.⁴¹ Marriage became a sacrament when he made it the image of the union with his church. Besides the sacraments, the wound in his side also brought forth the *ecclesia*. This is the *Sponsa* with which the *Sponsus* was united, as is clearly illustrated in a thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* (fig. 1).

Thus far we have discussed the frame and its Passion scenes without reference to the mirror they surround. Now we must ask ourselves what the relationship is between the mirror and Christ's Passion or, to put it differently, what inspired van Eyck to enclose his mirror in a frame containing Passion scenes? This question needs to be answered before we can properly analyze the relation between the mirror, in its figured frame, and marriage.

A possible answer to the question may be provided by Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum 103* and some of his other commentaries on the psalms, in which holy writ is looked upon as a mirror.⁴² 'A mirror of knowledge, when it is said that all which has been written is our mirror'⁴³; 'and a paragon for right living, when it is said that God's commands, whether read or recalled to memory, are seen as in a mirror.'⁴⁴ It is not surprising that one of Augustine's late works, a moralistic-didactic compilation of excerpts from the Old and New Testaments, was given the title *Speculum de Scriptura Sacra*.⁴⁵ Another variation on the mirror as a paragon of the holy life occurs in his *Ad virgines*, a rule for nuns which was later rewritten for monks. The model of what a monk should be was known as *Speculum*, a title which the author justified toward the end of his manuscript as follows: 'That you may see yourself in this little book as in a mirror and may not neglect anything through forgetfulness, let it be read to you once a week.'⁴⁶ In the course of the Middle Ages the title *Speculum* became increasingly popular and was applied to compendiums, biographies and all sorts of moralistic and didactic tracts. Included in hundreds of titles, the word *Speculum* always refers

directly or indirectly to completeness and perfection; it indicates the standard, the ideal with which one must compare oneself if one is to achieve perfection.⁴⁷ St. Bernard invoked this tradition when he called Christ's Passion a figurative mirror for his soul.⁴⁸ There is an emblem in Adrianus Poirter's *Het masker vande wereldt afgetrocken* of 1646, which partly draws on the latter source and may be illuminating in this context. The title of the emblem reads, in translation: 'The Passion of Christ is the best mirror of a God-loving soul.' Under the motto 'Behold how he, not how thou' ('Siet hoe hy, Niet hoe ghy') the *icon* shows two women: one of them admires herself in a mirror, the other tramples a globe while looking at a framed picture of Christ crowned with thorns (fig. 6). In the commentary, Poirter writes: '[...] I want you to stand in front of a sad image of the Passion, Philothea [who represents the God-loving soul]. [The image] is the whiteness of the eternal light, the immaculate mirror of God's majesty, and the image of his goodness, the crucified Jesus, of whom St. Drogo said: O Lord! you have made your body a mirror for my soul. St. Bernard made all the instruments of the Passion his mirror. But I have deemed it right to enclose only the cloth of St. Veronica in a black ebony frame and hang it before you [...]. This is the mirror, in which a Christian soul must discover its own vanity and imperfection.'⁴⁹ Everything exemplary is visualized in Christ, the incarnate Son of God, who demonstrates how man should live.

There was a continuous literary tradition from Augustine to Poirter; it was merely a small step to change the figurative mirror of Christ's Passion into an actual mirror combined with one or more scenes from the Passion. The same combination can also be found in medieval ivory mirror boxes.⁵⁰

The mirror in the *Arnolfini portrait*, too, derives from this tradition. Here, the mirror itself is enclosed within a frame which contains ten convex glass surfaces, representing various scenes from the Passion of Christ. In this context, we understand how fitting it is that these scenes are depicted on convex glass surfaces: each of these small tondi, because the Passion is depicted on them, represents yet another metaphorical mirror. We may rightly wonder whether paintings like *The small tondo* in the Louvre, showing the Lamentation and, on the reverse, the *arma Christi* painted on a blood-red background, or other circular representations of the Passion, should not be interpreted as metaphorical mirrors as well (figs. 7a-7b).⁵¹

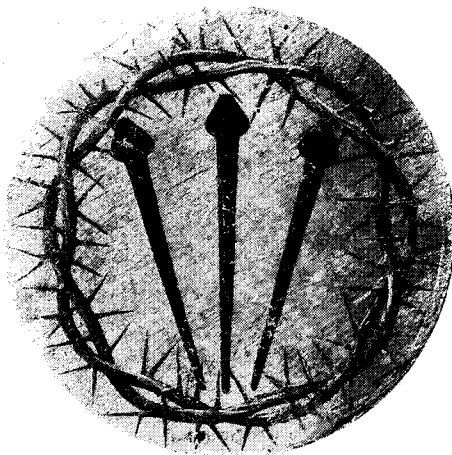
The ten-sidedness of the frame takes on new meaning in this context: the number ten stands for Christ himself as well as for Christian perfection.⁵² Thus the shape of the frame follows naturally from both the exemplary Passion and the reflecting surface, which is

De Passie *Christi* is den besten Spiegel,
van een Godt-minnende ziel.



*Siet hoe hy,
Niet hoe ghy.*

6. Emblem from: Adrianus Poirters, *Het masker vande wereldt afgetrocken*, Amsterdam n.d.



7a. Jean Malouel, *The small tondo*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

7b. Jean Malouel, *The small tondo*, reverse. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

symbolic of Christ.⁵³ Also pertaining to the Passion are the red and blue gems adorning the inner edge of the frame: by referring to the blood and the water issuing from the wound in Christ's side, they symbolize the effusion of the sacraments.⁵⁴

The combination of mirror and Passion symbolizes the ideal, the norm, and the rule of conduct which man (or in this case the married couple) should live by.

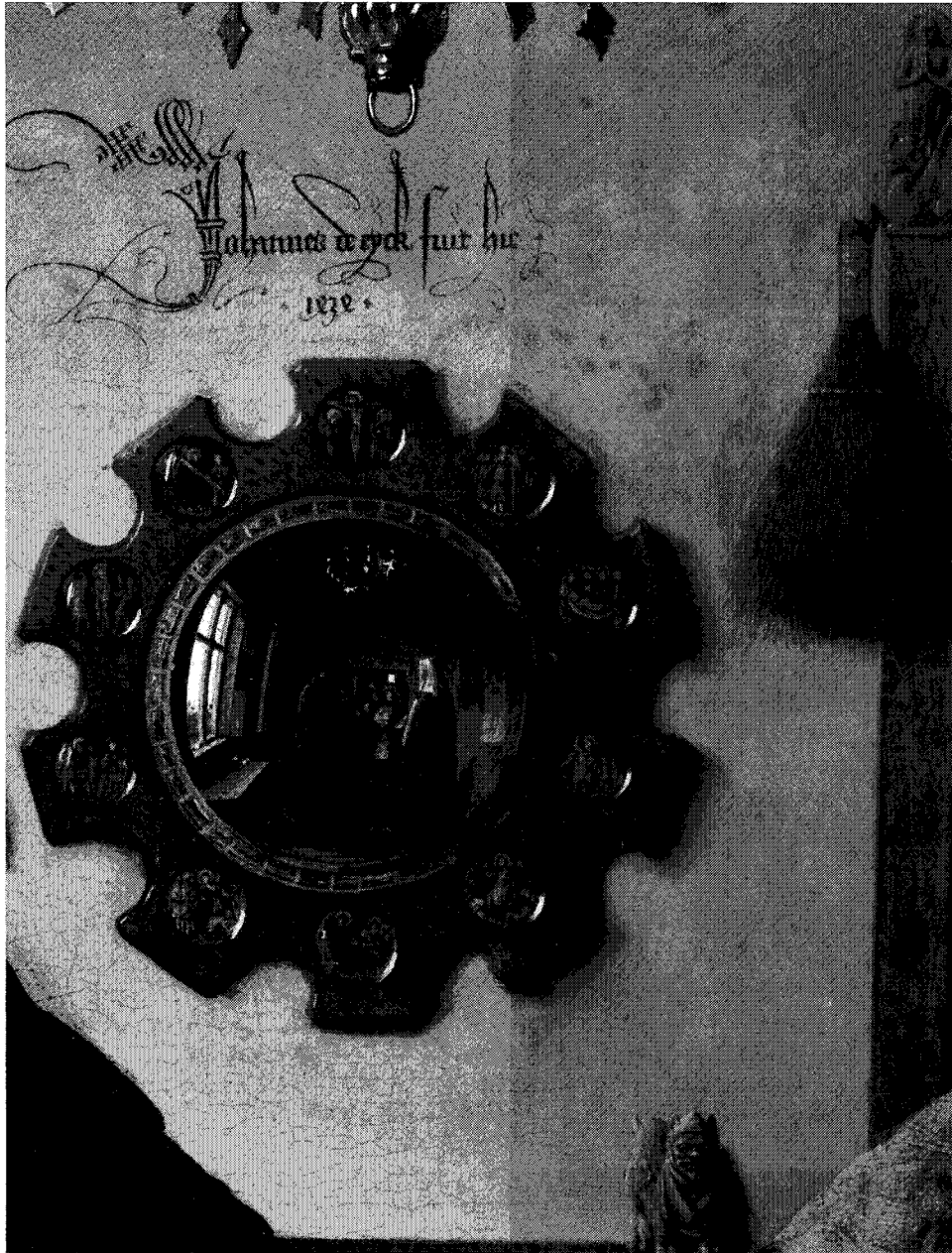
The Passion in itself may, as we have seen, refer to the third marital blessing, the sacrament, which after all was represented by Christ through his Passion.

Only at this stage may we combine the mirror in its frame and the marriage of the Arnolfinis. Their marriage is mirrored in the marriage of Christ and his church. The mirror has a normative function here as well, since the marriage of man is supposed to be a reflection of that between Christ and his church. This may be made manifest, for example, by Ephesians 5:22-23, where Paul compares Christ's exemplary and sacrificial love for his church to the love between husband and wife.

One detail which as yet has received hardly any attention is the brush.⁵⁵ Through pentimenti, one can clearly see that it was originally on the right of the mirror, and was larger (fig. 8). Van Eyck must have had some reason to change its position. If the original spot did not satisfy him for aesthetic reasons, why did he not leave it out altogether?

Needless to say, this household object was used for cleaning. In a figurative sense it could therefore refer to the cleanliness of the soul. This is apparent, for example, from the *Boeck van den pelgherijn* of 1486, a Dutch translation of a much older manuscript entitled *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* by Guillaume de Déguileville of ca. 1300. On the left of one of the woodcuts in this edition is *Penitencie* (Penance), who is holding a hammer and a rod and who, according to the text, has a small broom in her mouth to sweep out impurities (fig. 9).⁵⁶ In a painting from the milieu of the Master of Flémalle the brush seems to symbolize the proverbial chastity of Mary (fig. 10). Somewhat later, it recurs in this sacred sense in *The Holy Family* by Joos van Cleve (fig. 11). However, the brush also figures in profane representations, particularly in portraiture, as in the female pendant to a man's portrait by the same painter (fig. 12) and the allegorical double portrait of the Amsterdam burgomaster Egbert Jacobsz. and his spouse, Gerretje Jansz. Peggedochter, painted in 1541 and attributed to Dirk Jacobsz. (fig. 13).⁵⁷ One might also interpret these brushes as symbols of chastity - or purity within marriage.

If we try to identify sacramental elements of the interior in the



8. Jan van Eyck, *The marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*, detail. London, National Gallery.



9. Woodcut from: *Boeck van den pelgberijn*,
Haarlem 1486.



10. Workshop of the Master of Flémalle,
Annunciation. Brussels, Musées Royaux des
Beaux-Arts.



11. Joos van Cleve, *The Holy Family*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



12. Joos van Cleve, *Portrait of a woman*.
Florence, Uffizi.



13. Attributed to Dirk Jacobsz., *Portrait of Egbert Jacobsz. and his spouse Gerretje Jansz. Peggedochter*, 1541. Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.

Arnolfini portrait in accordance with the theory of 'disguised symbolism,' then the brush, as a symbol of chastity, might qualify as one. The institution of marriage served procreation as well as the avoidance of concupiscence in the individual. Marriage enables man to lead a chaste life, provided sexual intercourse results from a desire for offspring. In the *Arnolfini portrait* the brush hanging from the small sculpture of St. Margaret may refer to chastity and therefore indirectly to *proles*. Likewise, we may regard the statuette as forming part of a program of disguised symbols. Margaret refers even more clearly to *proles*, since she was the preeminent Christian symbol of fertility as well as the patroness of women in labor. The fact that she was above all a chaste virgin only made it more appropriate for the sculpture to be included in this context.⁵⁸ Unchastity, for which the sacrament of marriage provides a specific remedy, may be represented here by the other sculptured figures which form part of the furniture, particularly the monster with goat's legs and a fool's cap which mark him as the devil, seated on the only visible arm of the bench.⁵⁹

Should these interpretations in terms of the marital blessings be correct, then we have a case of 'disguised symbolism' *in optima forma*. This would imply that van Eyck - or his hypothetical adviser - carefully selected domestic objects to play an ingenious double role of reality and symbol, and arranged them, or adapted them, as it were, to a realistically possible interior, in such a way as to allude to major aspects of sacramental dogma. But how sensible is such a working method? Is it really plausible that van Eyck proceeded along such well-considered programmatic lines in the composition of this marriage portrait? Are there compelling reasons to take such a hypothesis as a guiding principle?

Take the brush, for instance. However ingenious our interpretation, there is not much evidence to corroborate its validity. On the other hand, it can be stated with some degree of certainty that it was an actual household object, which frequently occurs in paintings near a married woman. This is not surprising if we take into account that it was she who had to handle the brush. It is known from marriage folklore, for example, that on her return from the marriage ceremony, the woman would occasionally have to perform the ritual of sweeping to prove that she was capable of household work. In this context, the brush is a realistic attribute of the housewife, which, like the key, served as an expression of her power in domestic matters.⁶⁰ These facts may make the presence of this object even more appropriate. The one thing need not exclude the other. It remains possible that disguised symbol and the reality of folklore may both have contributed to the inclusion of the brush in the composition. But this brings us back to the problem discussed above: the more natural the

place of an assumed symbol in the composition, in other words the more successful the disguise, the harder it is for the scholar to postulate metaphorical intention on the part of the painter. This is invariably the case where there is a lack of external data, which is a common handicap. We will see that what is true of the brush also applies to the other elements that have been called disguised symbols.

The reality of symbols

Let us consider the alternative proposal that van Eyck's *Arnolfini portrait* is not a visual treatise on marriage expressed in terms of disguised symbols, but a carefully thought-out representation of the contracting of a particular marriage, and of the customs and gifts which played a part in it. Even the room, the environment in which the elements are brought together, may have been among the wedding presents. Written sources confirm that the *Morgengabe*, the love gift of the groom to his bride, might consist of a room, specially furnished for the woman, which could contain trinkets as well as precious decorative furniture. In this room, which was called *chambre étoffée* or *chambre close* in France and Flanders, the newlyweds spent their first night.⁶¹

The room depicted by van Eyck may be such a *chambre étoffée*. Indeed, the existence of such a luxurious room in the case of the affluent Arnolfinis may have been the very reason why the couple was portrayed in this setting, and may thus account for the exceptional character and unique iconography of this painting.⁶²

This thesis assumes that all the elements in the painting must have existed in the fifteenth century. Such an assumption does not pose any problems. The depiction of marriage customs such as the giving of the *arrha* or the part played by the footwear is highly realistic. These acts and objects formed an actual part of the practice of contracting of marriage. It stands to reason that they have a symbolic significance within the marriage ritual; after all, this is something inherent in rituals. Insofar as these acts and objects are symbolic, they need not be an invention of the painter. Since they were an actual part of marriage customs, van Eyck did not have to translate *abstracta* into painted *realia*. Symbolism of this kind was implicit in their ceremonial function; it did not have to be thought up by a painter.

Similarly, the contents of the interior may be considered realistic, from the furniture with its apotropaic sculpture down to the Caucasian carpet and even the mirror, which was presumably made in Bruges.⁶³ Mirrors were associated with the Passion of Christ not only in painting but also, as we have seen, in everyday life, where the

metaphor of the Passion as a mirror determined the design of mirrors.

As with the pattens, the oranges too - exceedingly precious at the time - should first be placed within contemporary marriage practice before they are interpreted as symbolized theology (such as 'the state of innocence before the Fall of Man').⁶⁴ The study of source material has as yet yielded little about the part played by oranges in the marriage ritual in this period. From the sixteenth century onward, however, there is documentation concerning the relation of oranges to the contraction of marriages.⁶⁵ Moreover, there are numerous medieval sources that relate the orange to love and love rituals. In the thirteenth century, for instance, the casting of 'golden apples' was considered a declaration of love by the *jeunesse dorée* of Tuscany, the region where Arnolfini came from.⁶⁶ Thus this ritual was part and parcel of the medieval language of courtship. Even without further documentary evidence, it is tempting to use such texts to interpret the oranges in the painting as actual love symbolism, which may have played a role within the marriage ritual itself. Thus the richly detailed marriage portrait adds to the scanty documentary data we have.⁶⁷

So far there is only one element in the portrait whose status as disguised symbol has been retained: the dog, which, as 'an accepted emblem of marital faith,' has offered no problem since Panofsky.⁶⁸ This assurance dissolves quickly, however, when we inquire after the source material underlying the theory. Neither a text nor an unambiguous iconography from this period has ever been adduced to substantiate Panofsky's interpretation.⁶⁹ Here, too, nothing prevents us from assuming that the 'Bolognese dog,' which fits perfectly in such a luxurious environment, was merely a gift. We know that it was the fashion for wealthy women to keep lap-dogs.⁷⁰ This thesis, at the worst, is no less likely than the interpretation of the dog as a bearer of the second marital blessing.

Disguised symbolism?

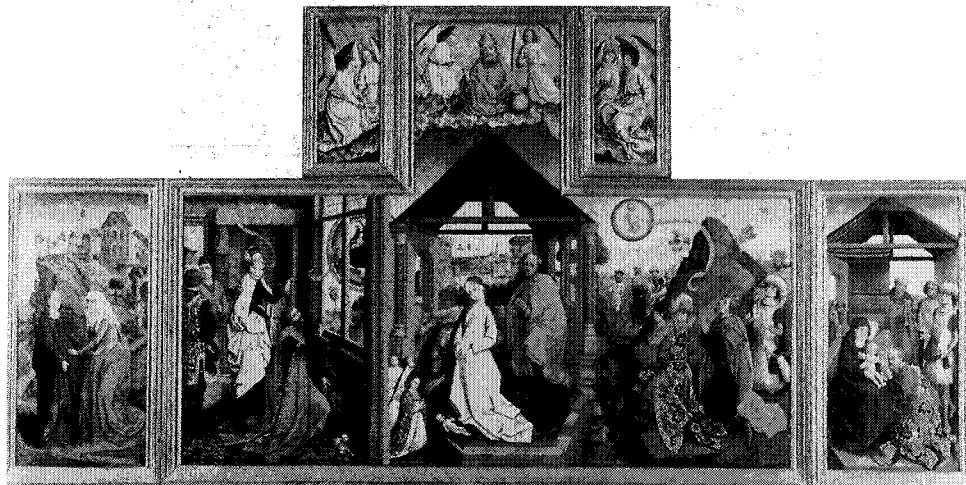
Having shown that Panofsky's interpretation of the *Arnolfini portrait* is less incontestable than has hitherto been realized, we must address the more general issue of what brought Panofsky in the first place to create his notion of 'disguised symbolism.' Aside from the application of his theory in the present case, did he have compelling reasons for assuming that van Eyck practiced a perfect blending of realism (naturalism) and symbolism, in which realistic objects in a realistic setting may be invested with symbolic meanings? Panofsky's starting point was the clash he observed between the realism of the artistic

style coming into its own at the time and the unrealistic character of the traditional language of symbols. This clash was real. The new style certainly had repercussions on late medieval modes of representation. Painted words, for example, had to be banned from the representation or had to be included organically in the painted reality. Particularly illustrative in this context are the results of recent scientific analysis of Rogier van der Weyden's *Bladelin altarpiece* (fig. 14). This showed that the panels originally included banderoles with inscriptions, analogous to the arrangement in a free copy after the altarpiece in *The Cloisters*, which must have been executed by an artist from Rogier's workshop at Brussels (fig. 15). In a second stage, however, Rogier omitted the banderoles and decided to let the inscriptions float against the background, before finally painting them altogether out of the compositions.⁷¹

We may infer from the *Arnolfini portrait* that van Eyck, too, was keenly aware of the difference in character between written text and painted reality. As we have seen, he painted words (perhaps the *verba* used to express one's consent to marry), on the now lost picture frame. We may assume that he did this because the inclusion of banderoles would have reduced the realism of the picture.

The manner in which van Eyck managed to justify his testimonial signature 'Johannes de Eyck fuit hic. 1434' points to an even more sophisticated solution to a problem of this kind. He followed the same procedure in his so-called *Tymotheos*, where he fused text and picture by including the text as an inscription on a stone parapet (fig. 16). The way in which this fusion takes place in the *Arnolfini portrait* becomes clear when we relate the enigmatic signature to the Burgundian preference for the art of making devices. Johan Huizinga pointed out that: 'To heraldry-minded fifteenth-century man, coats-of-arms and devices have meanings which differ from ecclesiastical symbols and formulas only in the extent of sacredness.'⁷² These abstruse devices occurred everywhere, and not least on the walls of interiors. To an educated fifteenth-century observer, the shape of van Eyck's testimonial signature, its place on the wall, as well as its puzzling quality, would have been quite acceptable as a painted equivalent of the reality of devices, which formed an integral part of his experience.

The way in which van Eyck transposed these words to a painted pseudo-reality bears striking resemblance to the manner in which Panofsky argued that symbols were hidden in and adapted to a pictorial realism, as it were through mimicry. There is no denying that a comparable phenomenon occurred in sacred art, as in the *Mérode altarpiece* by the Master of Flémalle, where the lilies in the vase - attributes of the Virgin's innocence - were included as an integral part of the interior (fig. 17).⁷³



14. Rogier van der Weyden, *Bladelin altarpiece*. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

15. Rogier van der Weyden follower, *Altarpiece with Nativity*. New York, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



16. Jan van Eyck, *Tymotheos*, 1432. London, National Gallery.



17. Master of Flémalle, *Mérode altarpiece*.
New York, The Cloisters, Metropolitan
Museum of Art.

As we have argued above, we seriously question whether a similar procedure of symbol adaptation was followed when the *Arnolfini portrait* was painted. This 'bourgeois' and 'profane' picture, unique in both its iconography and its function, is the first of its kind; and although this very picture gave birth to the term 'disguised symbolism,' it is the one that least qualifies. There was no need for the painter 'to reconcile the new naturalism with a thousand years of Christian tradition,'⁷⁴ nor was it necessary to invent for this commission a method to incorporate a symbolic program into a painted reality.

After fifty years, Panofsky's approach looks like a classic example of a confusion of genres, a fallacy warned against by Gombrich in the footsteps of Hirsch, and with justice: a profane picture like this should not be treated as an altarpiece.⁷⁵ At any rate, there is no adequate foundation for further talk of 'disguised symbolism' on the basis of this panel, let alone to postulate from it a fundamental tendency in early Netherlandish painting. The ingenious interpretations of the painting inspired by the concept of 'disguised symbolism' thank their existence to the wealth of symbols inherent in the marriage ritual rather than to an allegorical program invented by Jan van Eyck.

We are fortunate to be able to confront Panofsky's 'disguised symbolism' with the actual symbols and attributes of the marriage ritual. Panofsky's interpretation, in our view, loses its *raison d'être* in this comparison.

Although such a confrontation may not be possible in the case of sacred art, we should give serious consideration to the desirability of dismissing the method of 'disguised symbolism' in religious images as well. We should face up to the fact that Panofsky's theory gives *carte blanche* to the building of iconological castles in Spain. Since 1934 a great number of articles have appeared which have taken Panofsky's concept as a point of departure - articles, however, which frequently tell us more about the erudition and resourcefulness of their authors than about the art which is their putative subject.

Appendix

Thomas Aquinas's sacramental doctrine, with particular reference to marriage

Thomas Aquinas begins his sacramental teachings with an exposition on the sacraments in general, discussing them separately afterward.¹ In the general section he inquires into the definition of the sacrament (q. LX), the necessity of the sacraments (q. LXI), their effect (q. LXII and LXIII), their cause (q. LXIV), and their number (q. LXV).

He answers the question of what a sacrament is as follows: it is a sign (q. LX, a. 1), not any sign whatever of a sacred thing, but such a sign of a sacred thing 'that is ordained to signify our sanctification' (a. 2, a. 3); in this sanctification 'three things may be considered; viz., the very cause of our sanctification, which is Christ's Passion; the form of our sanctification, which is grace and the virtues; and the ultimate end of our sanctification, which is eternal life' (a. 3). He then summarizes his definition as follows: 'a sacrament is a sign that is both a reminder of the past, i.e., the Passion of Christ; and an indication of that which is effected in us by Christ's Passion, i.e., grace; and a prognostic, that is, a foretelling of future glory' (a. 3). The sacramental signs consist in sensible things (a. 4), determined by divine institution (a. 5). It is necessary to determine the signification of the sensible things by means of certain words (a. 6), which, even more than the sensible signs, are determinated (a. 7). Every addition to or subtraction from the words, which constitute the sacramental form, annuls the sacrament (a. 8).

The question about the necessity of the sacraments (q. LXI) is answered as follows: 'Sacraments are necessary unto man's salvation for three reasons; the first is taken from the condition of human nature which is such that it has to be led by things corporeal and sensible to things spiritual and intelligible'; 'the second reason is taken from the state of man who in sinning subjected himself by his affections to corporeal things' and for that reason needs a medicinal remedy against the disease of sin; 'the third reason is taken from the fact that man is prone to direct his activity chiefly towards material things' and it would be too hard to sever him entirely from it (a. 1). To the objection that the Passion of Christ is a sufficient cause of man's salvation, the answer is that the sacraments are not useless, because 'they obtain their effect through the power of Christ's Passion, and Christ's Passion is, to say, applied to man through the sacraments' (a. 1, reply obj. 3).

To the question about the principal effect of the sacraments, Aquinas answers that this is grace (q. LXII). When discussing the fifth article, he deals extensively with the relationship between sacramental grace and Christ's Passion. 'Now sacramental grace seems to be ordained principally to two things: namely, to take away the defects consequent on past sins, in so far as they are transitory in act, but endure in guilt; and, further to perfect the soul in things pertaining to divine worship in regard to the Christian religion. But it is manifest from what has been stated above (q. XLVIII and XLIX) that Christ delivered us from our sins principally through his Passion, not only by way of efficiency and merit, but also by way of satisfaction. Likewise by his Passion he inaugurated the rites of the Christian religion by offering "*himself - an oblation and a sacrifice to God*" (Eph. v. 2). Wherefore it is manifest that the sacraments of the church derive their power specially from Christ's Passion, the virtue of which is in a manner united to us by our receiving the sacraments. It was in sign of this that from the side of Christ hanging on the cross there flowed water and blood, the former of which belongs to baptism, the latter to the eucharist, which are the principal sacraments.'

To the question about the cause of the sacraments (q. LXIV), it is replied that God is the effective cause (a. 1). To the objection that the apostles and their followers acted as God's representatives, and might therefore institute new sacraments, Aquinas answers: 'Wherefore, just as they may not institute another church, so neither may they deliver another faith, nor institute other sacraments: on the contrary, the church is said to be built up with the sacraments *which flowed from the side of Christ while hanging on the cross*' (a. 2).

The number of sacraments is established as seven (q. LXV, a. 1). Matrimony, as a remedy against concupiscence in the individual and against the decrease in numbers that results from death, is placed last because it has the least amount of spirituality (a. 2).

After this general section Aquinas deals with each sacrament separately.² Although the least spiritual, marriage is a sacrament as well, since it is a hallowing remedy against sin, which is given to man through visible signs (q. XLII, a. 1). To the objection that marriage is not a sacrament, since the pleasure derived from it cannot be reconciled with Christ's Passion, which was painful, Aquinas replies: 'Although matrimony is not confirmed to Christ's Passion as regards pain, it is as regards charity, whereby he suffered for the church who was to be united to him as his spouse.'

According to Aquinas, the institution of marriage went through three phases. 'As directed to the begetting of children, which was necessary even if there was no sin, marriage was instituted before sin; since it affords a remedy for the wound of sin, it was instituted after sin at the time of the natural law; [...] and it was instituted in the new law inasmuch as it represents the mystery of Christ's union with the church' (q. XLII, a. 2).

Hence, as a sacrament marriage also affords mercy. To one of the objections to this, Aquinas replies: 'Just as the water of baptism by virtue of its contact with Christ's body is able to *touch the body and cleanse the heart*, so is matrimony able to do so through Christ having represented it by his Passion, and not principally through any blessing of the priest' (a. 3, reply obj. 1).

It should be stressed that marriage even without *copula carnalis* is a sacramental marriage. And to the question whether it is legitimate therefore to regard *copula carnalis* as an integral part of the sacrament, Aquinas replies: 'Integrity is twofold. One regards the primal perfection consisting in the very essence of a thing; the other regards the secondary perfection consisting in operation. Since carnal inter-

course is an operation or use of marriage which gives the faculty for that intercourse, it follows that carnal intercourse belongs to the latter, and not to the former integrity of marriage' (a. 4). It follows that, strictly speaking, a sacramental marriage may exist even without carnal intercourse. In this sense, *copula* is not obligatory, and may be regarded as an accretion, bringing about a *secunda perfectio*.

A matter of great moment within the doctrine of marriage is the marital consensus (q. XLV, a. 1-5). To the question whether consent is the efficient cause of matrimony Aquinas replies: 'In every sacrament there is a spiritual operation by means of a material operation which signifies it; thus in baptism the inward spiritual cleansing is effected by a bodily cleansing. Wherefore, since in matrimony there is a kind of spiritual joining together, in so far as matrimony is a sacrament, and a certain material joining together, in so far as it is directed to an office of nature and of civil life, it follows that the spiritual joining is the effect of the divine power by means of the material joining. Therefore seeing that the joinings of material contracts are effected by mutual consent, it follows that the joining together of marriage is effected in the same way' (q. XLV, a. 1).³

A sensible sign is required in every sacrament. Therefore it is also required in matrimony, where it takes the form of words by which consent is made perceptible to the senses. Further, in matrimony there is a contract between husband and wife. Now in every contract there must be expression of the words by which men bind themselves mutually to one another. Therefore in matrimony the consent must also be expressed in words. 'As stated above (q. XLV, a. 1), the marriage union is effected in the same way as the bond in material contracts. And since material contracts are not feasible unless the contracting parties express their will to one another in words, it follows that the consent which makes a marriage must also be expressed in words, so that the expression of words is to marriage what the outward washing is to baptism' (q. XLV, a. 2).

The consent to marry implies at the same time the acceptance of carnal intercourse (q. XLVIII, a. 1). Carnal intercourse is implicit in the consent. Nothing is more significant with regard to this consent than carnal intercourse (q. XLVI, a. 2). Since *copula carnalis* within marriage has the same status as *copula carnalis fornicatoria*, which is wrong, something must be added to the former to make it right (q. XLIX, a. 1-6). Now the loss of reason induced by the pleasure derived from carnal intercourse may be compensated by the marital blessings: offspring (*proles*), faith (*fides*), and sacrament (*sacramentum*). These three blessings render carnal intercourse morally right, and by it marriage (q. XLIX, a. 1). This, however, does not mean that *copula* within marriage is invariably free of sin. Here Aquinas adopts an Augustinian point of view. This implies that only sexual intercourse caused by a desire for offspring is free of sin. When induced by concupiscence, intercourse becomes a sin despite the fact that *copula* is beneficial as a means of preserving marriage. It follows that the avoidance of fornication, which became an object of marriage after the Fall, is inextricably linked with the intention of procreation; the unchaste nature of sexuality may only be remedied through the desire for offspring. Thus the intention creates the remedy. Until 1450 this Augustinian point of view was almost universally acknowledged.⁴ *Conjunctio corporum* also gives marriage its indissoluble character, since intercourse signifies the union of Christ and his church, a tie which cannot be severed.

Notes

This article was first published in *Simiolus* 16 (1986), pp. 5-28. I am greatly indebted to Jeroen Stumpel for his valuable suggestions and for his reading of the manuscript. For information and advice I would also like to thank Elisabeth Dhanens and particularly Anna C. Esmeijer. The article was translated from the Dutch by Wim Honders.

1. Erwin Panofsky, 'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait,' *The Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934), pp. 117-27. Whenever Panofsky is mentioned in the text without further reference, this is the article referred to. W.H. James Weale and M.W. Brockwell, *The van Eycks and their art*, London 1912, p. 115 ('a newly married couple'). Yet there were also historians before them who interpreted this representation as a wedding scene (see, for example, F. de Potter, *Gent, van den oudsten tijd tot heden. Geschiedkundige beschrijving der stad*, in F. de Potter and J. Broeckaert, *Geschiedenis van de gemeenten der provincie Oost-Vlaanderen*, series 7^d and 8, Ghent 1888-91, p. 220, where the panel is referred to as 'the Marriage of Arnolfini'). Karel van Mander, 'Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hoog-duytsche schilders,' *Het Schilder-boeck*, Alkmaar and Haarlem 1603-04, fol. 202v, writes of a '[...] tafereelken [...] van een man en een vrouwe / die malcander de rechter handt gaven / als in houwelyck vergaderende / en worden ghetrouwt van Fides, diese t'samengaf.'

2. Literature on the history of marriage abounds. Very useful general observations may be found in A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, et al., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 9, Paris 1927, cols. 2044-2335, s.v. 'Mariage,' particularly

cols. 2123-2223; Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 10, Paris 1932, cols. 1843-1982, s.v. 'Mariage'; *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, eds. A. Erler and E. Kaufmann, vol. 1, Berlin 1971, cols. 809-36, s.v. 'Ehe.'

3. Cf., for example, *Handwörterbuch*, op. cit. (note 2), cols. 818-19.

4. For the contractual side of marriage see A. Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique*, vol. 1, Paris 1929, pp. 151-211 (particularly useful). See also the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, op. cit. (note 2), cols. 2171-96; *Dictionnaire de droit canonique, contenant tous les termes du droit canonique avec un sommaire de l'histoire et des institutions et de l'état actuel de la discipline*, ed. Raoul Naz, vol. 6, Paris 1957, col. 746; and the Appendix.

5. J.-B. Molin and P. Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage en France du XII^e au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1974, pp. 100ff.; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, op. cit. (note 2), col. 2142.

6. J.-B. Molin, 'L'iconographie des rites nuptiaux,' *Actes du 102^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes. Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* [Limoges 1977], Paris 1979, p. 356.

7. Panofsky here refers to du Cange's

Glossarium mediae et infimiae latinitatis, vol. 3, Niort 1884, p. 490, s.v. 'Fidem Levare.' It is hard to understand why he quotes this passage to support his statement that 'The forearm raised in confirmation of the matrimonial oath was called *fides levata*,' as du Cange only offers a nonmatrimonial finger lifting. This was rightly criticized at an earlier stage by Henry Ansgar Kelly in his *Love and marriage in the age of Chaucer*, Ithaca and London 1975, p. 174. However, this criticism failed to make an impression on the interpreters of van Eyck.

8. See Appendix. When Panofsky asks: 'Now, what were those "words and actions" required for a legitimate marriage?' he confuses marriage with betrothal. These 'words and actions,' to which he reckons the oath, were taken from Thomas's discussion about betrothal (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, pt. 3 [Supplementum], q. XLIII, a. 1) and have no bearing on a legitimate sacramental marriage.

9. P.H. Schabacker, 'De matrimonio ad morganaticam contracto. Jan van Eyck's "Arnolfini" portrait reconsidered,' *The Art Quarterly* 35 (1972), pp. 375-98.

10. Elisabeth Dhanens, *Hubert en Jan van Eyck*, Antwerp 1980, pp. 193-205.

11. In her lecture on 'Huwelijkse voorstellingen in de tapijtkunst' (see *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* 22 [1963], p. 154), Hester van der Walt argued convincingly that such a left-handed *iunctio* pertained to a marriage contract according to the ancient codification of secular law ('volgens het oud wereldlijk recht'). I am greatly indebted to her for allowing me to quote from this lecture. Examples of a left-handed *iunctio* in miniatures may be found in: (1) Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. 270b, *Bible moralisée*, fol. 6 (France, thirteenth century), where a left-handed *iunctio* appears in the marriage of Adam and Eve and the one between *Sponsus* and *Sponsa*; see fig. 1; (2) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, ms. 9634-35, *Historie-Bijbel*, fol. 155r, *The marriage of Hosea* (Flanders, 1355); see fig. 2; (3) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, ms. 9002, *Bible historique*, fol. 170, *The marriage of Hosea* (France, ca. 1410); (4) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, ms. 9249-50, *Le miroir de la salvation humaine*, trans. Jean Miélot, fol. 72, *The marriage of Michal and Palti* (Jean Miélot,

1448-49); (5) London, British Museum, ms. Add. 10043, *Bible*, fol. 207v, *The marriage of Tobias and Sarah* (Dutch, ca. 1430); see fig. 3. See also note 31.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2646, Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, vol. 4, fol. 245v, *The marriage of Richard II of England and Isabella of France* (Bruges, Master Antoine de Bourgogne, ca. 1470). For a description of this marriage see *Les chroniques de Jehan Froissart*, édition abrégée [...] par Mme De Witt, Paris 1881, pp. 820-21.

13. Molin, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 356-57, with further references in note 16 to various examples from miniature painting.

14. Dhanens, op. cit. (note 10), p. 202. She based her interpretation partly on K. Stallaert, *Glossarium van verouderde rechtstermen, kunstwoorden en andere uitdrukkingen uit Vlaamsche, Brabantsche en Limburgsche oorkonden*, vol. 2, Leiden 1893, p. 49; E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch woordenboek*, vol. 3, The Hague 1894, cols. 1376-77, s.v. 'kerse'; de Potter, op. cit. (note 1), p. 318, note 1. In the case of certain agreements and contracts, such as renting, purchasing, selling, tenders and leases, a candle was lit. Only when it had burned down was the legal character of the agreement final and indisputable. Mrs. Dhanens tells me that she remembers a sort of candlestick in the vestry of Tournai Cathedral which was used when drawing up certain legal acts. See also E. Wohlhaupter, *Die Kerze im Recht (Forschungen zum deutschen Recht 4, nr. 1)*, Weimar 1940, pp. 134ff., who mentions the candle ritual in the case of drawing up testaments and the election of rectors by certain electoral committees. Marriage was a contract, and particularly with respect to the marriage negotiations between the affluent Arnolfini and his bride various contractual agreements are conceivable, such as the one concerning provisions and the *Morgengabe*.

15. See Appendix.

16. In her article 'The handclasp in the Arnolfini wedding. A manuscript precedent,' *The Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), pp. 488-91, Lucy Freeman Sandler goes so far as to postulate the clandestine character from the left-handed *iunctio*. She does this on the basis of a miniature from the English manuscript *Omne bonum*

which shows a left-handed *iunctio* in relation to a text about clandestine marriages. However, the iconography of marriage representations contains numerous precedents which bear no relevance to clandestine marriages. Moreover, the text accompanying this miniature nowhere refers to a left-handed *iunctio*; the picture shows the joining of the left hand of the woman and the right of the man. Hence, this cannot even be called a real precedent.

17. Esmein, op. cit. (note 4), vol. 1, pp. 198-211.

18. Kelly, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 172ff.

19. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, op. cit. (note 2), col. 2193.

20. Nothing was more simple - and canon law granted this - than to convert a clandestine marriage into a legal one at a later stage. Esmein, op. cit. (note 4), p. 208.

21. Thomas Aquinas, op. cit. (note 8), q. XLV, a. 5. Cf. also Jean Lejeune, 'Vers une résurrection des réalités. La période liégeoise des van Eycks,' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1955), pp. 66-67.

22. R. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt. Ein Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der kirchlichen Trauung zur Civilehe*, Weimar 1875, p. 65.

23. *Handwörterbuch*, op. cit. (note 2), cols. 828-29; R. Gräfe, *Das Eherecht in den Coutumiers des 13. Jahrhunderts. Eine rechtsvergleichende Darstellung des französischen Ehepersonen- und Ehegüterrechts im Mittelalter* (Göttinger Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte, vol. 6), Göttingen 1972, pp. 57-91.

24. For shoe symbolism see J.L. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1899⁴, pp. 213-15; K. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Vienna 1897, pp. 305-06, 348-49.

25. H. Noorlander, *Klonten, hun makers en hun dragers* (Monographs of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 'Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum,' vol. 2), Arnhem 1978, p. 60.

26. *Stadboek van Groningen van het jaar 1425*, lib. 9, no. 6, 'Van mitten brudegam to clede en gave te geven,' *Verhandelingen ter nasporing van de wetten en gesteldheid onzes vaderlands, waarbij gevoegd zijn eenige analectica tot dezelve betrekke-*

lijk. Door een genootschap te Groningen Pro excolendo iure patrio, vol. 5, Groningen 1828, p. 172, ' [...] En noch de brudegam noch de bruit en moet ghewant noch kledere noch koghele noch trippe. klenode gheven ore maeden vrunden inder brulacht voer ofte nae der brulacht bi tien marke to broke.'

27. Noorlander, op. cit. (note 25), pp. 65-67, containing an extensive bibliography on shoe symbolism. Cf. also the discussion by Heinrich Felix Schmidt of Wladyslaw Abraham, *Die Eheschliessung im ältesten polnischen Recht*, Lemberg 1925, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (Kanonistische Abteilung 15) 46 (1926), pp. 557-69.

28. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish painting. Its origins and character*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, p. 203. See also L. Baldass, *Jan van Eyck*, London and New York 1952, p. 74, note 3. But even if we drop this requirement of realism, Panofsky's interpretation - exclusively based on a farfetched biblical text - still lacks conviction when compared with an interpretation substantiated by abundant source material.

29. Sohm, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 54ff., 103, 321. For trinkets as *arrahae* see Molin and Mutembe, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 149-51. The husband could also give several rings (*ibid.*, p. 141). The custom by which the husband received a ring only became current in the second half of the nineteenth century, as in France (*ibid.*, pp. 141-42).

30. J.L. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen 1854², pp. 148-52, 160-61; Weinhold, op. cit. (note 24), vol. 1, pp. 306, 309, 346; Sohm, op. cit. (note 22), p. 66.

31. Sohm, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 66, 318-19. The *chlamys* is a purple cloak which, in the same sense as the *crocina*, was used in Italy for betrothals (see du Cange, op. cit. [note 7], s.v. 'chlamys'). Since marriage and betrothal rituals became mixed, it is perfectly possible that we are here dealing with a contamination of the two cloaks. For this blending see Sohm, op. cit. (note 22), p. 103. In miniature painting I came across another example of a man wearing a hat while making his marriage vows. It is a miniature in a bible from Tournai from the second half of the thirteenth century, and shows *The marriage of Hosea*, who is wearing a Jewish hat

(Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, ms. 2, 2523, fol. 267v).

32. For the *Morgengabe* see R. Schröder, *Geschichte des ehelichen Güterrechts in Deutschland*, vol. 1, Stettin 1871, pt. 1, pp. 84-112, and pt. 2, pp. 24-72, and vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 242-50. As our portrait shows, the prayer beads could have been made of a precious material. For the prayer beads as a present see Weinhold, op. cit. (note 24), p. 306. Panofsky's interpretation of the prayer beads as symbols of Marian purity (*speculum sine macula*) completely disregards this custom. Besides, his interpretation does not explain the Virgin's function and therefore does not contribute to a consistent programmatic whole; see Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 203.

33. A. Harnack, *History of dogma*, trans. N. Buchanan, vol. 6, New York 1961, pp. 200-275.

34. As an extensive account of these teachings would interfere with the running text, we will confine ourselves to a summary. For a more detailed treatment see the Appendix.

35. It demonstrates that this doctrine is simply a reduplication of the Redemption by Christ, cf. Harnack, op. cit. (note 33), p. 216, note 1.

36. For the relation between *consensus* and *fides manualis* see Thomas Aquinas, op. cit. (note 8), q. XLV, a. 2, and q. XLVI, a. 1. E. Dhanens, op. cit. (note 10), p. 197, pointed out anew the significance of the description of the panel in this Spanish inventory and its publication by J. Allende-Salazar, 'Don Filipe de Guevarra,' *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 1 (1925), pp. 189-92. Her translation of the brief description of the text on the frame seems to me to be incorrect. It appears from the description that this text consisted of Ovidian verses. The description is also quoted in Martin Davies, *The National Gallery London. Les Primitifs Flamands. Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle* 3, vol. 2, Antwerp 1954, pp. 126-27.

37. For the consecration of the nuptial chamber see Molin, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 361-64, illustrated; Molin and Mutembe, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 255ff.

38. Panofsky does not refer to E. Durand-Gréville, *Hubert et Jean van Eyck*, Brussels 1910, who was the first to interpret the dog as a

symbol of faithfulness. However, cf. my note 69.

39. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.

40. Madrid, Museo del Prado.

41. The first to establish the relationship between the Passion and the doctrine of the sacraments was Hans Kauffmann in his article 'Jan van Eycks "Arnolfinihochzeit,"' *Geistige Welt* 4 (1950), pp. 47-48. I have dealt extensively with this matter in a number of lectures since 1977 (for example, 'Jan van Eycks Arnolfiniportret. Spiegel van het huwelijk,' Utrecht, Kunsthistorisch Instituut, September 30, 1981). Kauffmann's thesis seems to be the cornerstone of the article by Robert Baldwin, 'The mirror in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini wedding,' *Oud Holland* 98 (1984), pp. 57-75. However, Baldwin nowhere mentions Kauffmann in his article, which, incidentally, is implausible and challengeable in many respects. Although Panofsky included Kauffmann's article in the bibliography of his *Early Netherlandish painting*, he failed to use it to corroborate his argument.

42. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 103 (PL, vol. 32, col. 1338), quoted in R. Bradley, 'Backgrounds of the title *Speculum* in medieval literature,' *Speculum* 29 (1954), pp. 102-03.

43. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 30, Sermo 3 (PL, vol. 36, col. 248), quoted in Bradley, op. cit. (note 42), p. 103.

44. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 118, Sermo 4 (PL, vol. 37, col. 1510), quoted in Bradley, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 103-04.

45. *Speculum de Scriptura Sacra* (PL, vol. 34, cols. 887-1040), quoted in Bradley, op. cit. (note 42), p. 104.

46. Ep. 211, 'Ad Virgines,' or *Regula ad Servos Dei* (PL, vol. 40, col. 1384), quoted in Bradley, op. cit. (note 42), p. 105. The authenticity of these rules is controversial, see B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, Freiburg 1978, pp. 434-35.

47. Bradley, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 100-105; M. Bernards, *Speculum Virginum. Geistigkeit und Seelenleben der Frau im Hochmittelalter*, Cologne and Graz 1955, p. 2.

48. *Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem Domini*, caput 4 (PL, vol. 184, col. 744).

49. Adrianus Poirters, *Het masker vande wereldt afgetrocken*, Amsterdam [s.a. (13th ed.)], pp. 284-308. In Dutch the passage quoted reads as follows: '[...] ick wensch dat je staet voor een droevigh *Passie-beeldt*, Philothea, die is de wittigheyt des eeuwigen lichts, den spiegel sonder vleck van Gods majesteyt, en het beelt van sijne goetheyt, den gekruysten Jesus, van den welcken seydt den H. Drogo: *O Heer! ghy hebt van u lichaam ghemaect eenen spiegel voormijn ziele*. Den H. Bernardus maecte den synen van alle de instrumenten vande *Passie*. Maer ick heb goetd ghevonden alleen den doeck van de H. *Veronica* in een swert ebben-lijst te stellen, ende voor u op te hangen [...]. Dit is den spiegel, in den welcken een Christen ziel hare ydelheyt en onvolmaecktheyt moet gaen ontdekken'; Poirters goes on to say: 'This mirror was used by Rudesindus, Bishop of Compostella, whose coat-of-arms included a cross with a mirror on one of its arms. On the other arm was a pair of compasses to measure the suffering and dying of Christ, and the mirror to observe his own works in order that he might know and discover how remote he was from the footsteps of Christ, and where he should improve his works, and transcend material life.' ('Desen gebruyckte *Rudesindus Bisschop van Compostellen*, denwelcken in sijn wapen voerden een kruys, en op den eenen arm den spiegel. Op den anderen van't kruys een passer, om daer als mede af te meten het lijden en sterven *Christi*; en den spiegel om daer sijn eygen werken te sien, op dat hy so sou weten en ontdekken, hoe verre hy was van de voetstappen *Christi*, en de waer in hy sijne wercken hadde te beteren, ende sijn leven te versterven.')

See in this context Vasari's life of Parri Spinelli (1387-1452): 'In the old Duomo he painted three different Madonnas in fresco; and inside, on the left-hand of the principal entrance of that church, he painted in fresco a story of the Blessed Tommasuolo, a hermit of the Sacco, a holy man of the time. As this man habitually carried in his hand a mirror in which, as he affirmed, he saw the Passion of Jesus Christ, Parri drew him kneeling with the mirror in his right hand, holding it up to heaven. Above, on a throne of clouds, is Jesus Christ surrounded by all the mysteries of the Passion, everything being reflected in the mirror with exquisite art,

so that not only the Blessed Tommasuolo, but anyone who looks at the picture may see it. It was certainly a charming and ingenious idea, and it has taught succeeding artists to use mirrors in a similar fashion for many things' (see Giorgio Vasari, *The lives of the painters, sculptors and architects*, ed. William Gaunt [Everyman's Library], vol. 1, London and New York 1970, pp. 257-58).

50. Herbert Grabes, *Speculum, mirror and looking-glass. Kontinuität und Originalität der Spiegelmetapher in den Buchtiteln des Mittelalters und der englischen Literatur des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1973, p. 75.

51. *The small tondo* is probably of Burgundian origin. For a detailed treatment see A. Châtelet, *Early Dutch painting. Painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century*, trans. C. Brown and A. Turner, Oxford 1981, pp. 191-92 (cat. nr. 7).

52. J.J.M. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconographie der christelijke kunst*, Roermond and Maaseik 1947, p. 189 (nr. 1933).

53. For Christ as a *speculum sine macula* see, for example, Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum quadruplex. Naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*, vol. 3, Douai 1624, 'Speculum morale,' col. 644. For Christ as a mirror cf. Grabes, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 74ff. Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 203, interprets the mirror as a symbol of the Virgin's purity. This interpretation does not contribute to a consistent program any more than his theory about the prayer beads (cf. note 32).

54. We are particularly concerned here with the principal sacraments, viz. baptism (water) and the eucharist (blood). Cf. Appendix (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, pt. 3, q. LXII, a. 5). It is not possible to identify painted gems with any certainty. Certain gems were associated with blood or with water. For instance, in de Beauvais, op. cit. (note 53), vol. 1, 'Speculum naturale,' cols. 517-18, 522-23, beryl is associated with water and coral with blood. For the red jet of blood and the blue jet of water from the wound in Christ's side see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum, 8 vols., Rome, Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna 1968-76, vol. 4, cols. 540-42, s.v. 'Wunden Christi.'

55. Elisabeth Dhanens interpreted the brush

as a symbol of *labora* and a counterpart to the rosary, symbolizing *ora*; cf. Dhanens, op. cit. (note 10), p. 203.

56. Guillaume de Déguileville, *Boeck van den pelgerrijn*, Haarlem 1486. The blocks for this edition were also used for the Delft edition of 1498. For a commentary on Guillaume's pilgrimage see Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical imagery. Some medieval books and their posterity*, Princeton, N.J. 1966, pp. 145-218, esp. pp. 161-62, 206-07.

57. For the text in this painting see B. Haak, 'De vergankelijkheidssymboliek in 16e eeuwse portretten en 17e eeuwse stillevens in Holland,' *Antiek* 1 (1967), pp. 23-30.

58. For St. Margaret see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, op. cit. (note 54), vol. 7, cols. 494-500, s.v. 'Margaretha von Antiochien'; Jan Grauls, *Volkstaal en volksleven in het werk van Pieter Bruegel*, Antwerp and Amsterdam 1957, pp. 6-76.

59. The lion sitting with his back to the monster, as well as the one on the chair (*sittekest*), may stand for the devil, or evil, respectively; cf. Timmers, op. cit. (note 52), p. 757, nrs. 1747 and 1748.

60. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. H. Bachtold-Stäubli, vol. 4, Berlin and Leipzig 1932, cols. 1238-39; Weinhold, op. cit. (note 24), vol. 2, p. 269. St. Petronilla of Rome carries a key and a brush. Both attributes - at any rate the brush - refer to the household she is supposed to have managed for St. Peter; cf. J. Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1943, pp. 592-93 and fig. 150. Until now there was no doubt as to the identification of the statuette of St. Margaret. However, since the identification is necessarily based on one single attribute, the dragon, one might just as well opt for Martha, the patroness of housewives, who is similarly recognizable by the dragon. In this case, the combination with the brush as an attribute of the housewife would seem to be highly appropriate. For Martha see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, op. cit. (note 54), vol. 7, cols. 565-68, s.v. 'Martha von Bethanien,' which mentions the confusion of Margaret with Martha due to their common attribute.

61. Also called *chambre garnie* or *tapissée*. For this room see M. Guyot, 'chambre étoffée,' in

M. Merlin, *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence*, vol. 2, Paris 1812, p. 172; Levy-Maria Jordao, 'Le Morgengabe portugais,' *Revue Historique de Droit Français* 5, nr. 6 (1859), pp. 101-20; *La grande encyclopédie. Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, vol. 10, Paris [s.a.], p. 381, s.v. 'chambre étoffée'; Paolo Merêa, "Camera Cerrada," *Revista Lusitana* 35 (1937), pp. 304-09; Schröder, op. cit. (note 32), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 109; A. Schultze, 'Über westgotisch-spanisches Eherecht,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (Philologisch-historische Klasse 95, nr. 4, 1943), Leipzig 1944, pp. 54ff.

62. For Arnolfini's wealth see E.I. Strubbe, 'Een episode uit het leven van Giovanni Arnolfini,' *Handelingen van het Genootschap Gesticht onder de Benaming Société d'Émulation te Brugge* 89, nr. 1-2 (1952), pp. 68-73.

63. For the mirror and mirror makers in Bruges see J. Duverger, 'Brugse schilders ten tijde van Jan van Eyck,' *Bulletin Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* 4 (1955), p. 84. Incidentally, the mirror was among the favorite presents a man could give to his beloved; cf. Weinhold, op. cit. (note 24), vol. 2, pp. 314-15; *Aussprüche der Minnegerichte...*, ed. Christopher von Aretin, Munich 1803, p. 108, XXI and p. 149, XX. The reality value of the mirror is definitively enhanced when it is confronted with a fourteenth-century convex mirror from Lübeck, which was similarly enclosed in a wooden frame with medallions. For the mirror from Lübeck see exhib. cat. *Stadt im Wandel. Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150-1650*, ed. Cord Meckseper, vol. 1, Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt 1985, pp. 212-13, cat. nr. 149. The same catalogue (vol. 2, pp. 940-42, cat. nr. 840) mentions behind-glass paintings on spectacle glasses. I am grateful to A. M. Koldewey, who pointed out this catalogue to me.

64. For the exorbitant prices paid for oranges at the time see S. Tolkowsky, *Hesperides. A history of the culture and use of citrus fruits*, London 1938, pp. 269-70. Their expensiveness may be the reason why oranges are depicted in Quinten Massys's *The money changer and his wife* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and in Hieronymus Bosch's representation of Superbia

in *The seven deadly sins* (Madrid, Museo del Prado). With regard to the realism of the painting it should be added that oranges were actually imported in Bruges at the time; cf. Dhanens, op. cit. (note 10), p. 202.

65. P. Vandenbroeck, 'Verbeeck's peasant weddings. A study of iconography and social function,' *Simiolus* 14 (1984), p. 103. It should be added that, in Italy, orange blossoms were a traditional ornament of the bride; cf. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *The garden of the Renaissance. Botanical symbolism in Italian painting*, Florence 1977, pp. 272-73, who also mentions the oranges as a symbol of marriage; and idem, *Botticelli's Primavera. A botanical interpretation including astrology, alchemy and the Medici*, Florence 1983, p. 43. According to the author, 'the orange was also the plant of the bride, having been given as a wedding gift by the graces to the bride at the nuptials between Jupiter and Juno.'

66. Tolkowsky, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 152, 163, 273-74, 282. Here we may also draw attention to the popular legend of St. Nicholas, who enabled the three daughters of an impoverished nobleman to contract honorable marriages by providing a dowry for each of them. This dowry consisted of golden balls which he threw through the window on three successive nights; cf. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, op. cit. (note 54), vol. 8, cols. 45-58, s.v. 'Nicolaus von Myra.' It should be added that, in the fifteenth century, the golden apples of the Hesperides were synonymous with oranges; cf. Tolkowsky, *passim*.

67. According to Panofsky, the oranges symbolize 'the state of innocence before the Fall of Man,' whereas to Baldass they refer to original sin; cf. Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 203; Baldass, op. cit. (note 28), p. 75. In either case, there is no relationship whatsoever with marriage. Hence, both interpretations may be dismissed as arbitrary.

68. Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 203.

69. Note 10 in his article does not mention a single source to justify this interpretation. Panofsky refers only to the dog at the woman's feet on medieval slab tombs, which however belongs in the category of the monsters and animals such as lions, which should be interpreted simply as guardians of the grave. The choice of a dog rather than another animal to

watch over the woman's grave was probably suggested by the fact that fashionable women owned dogs. Cf. also Baldass, op. cit. (note 28), p. 85.

70. Baldass, op. cit. (note 28); K. Thomas, *Man and the natural world*, New York 1983, p. 107.

71. R. Grosshans, 'Infrarotuntersuchungen zum Studium der Unterzeichnung auf den Berliner Altären von Rogier van der Weyden,' *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 19 (1982), pp. 137-77, esp. pp. 161-62.

72. J. Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef,' *Verzamelde werken*, vol. 2, Haarlem 1948, p. 131.

73. Panofsky accepted this as a convincing example; cf. Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 142. Yet in such a case we may doubt whether the term 'disguised symbolism' fits the case. No fifteenth-century observer would have had any difficulty in interpreting the lilies - which, incidentally, were not found in the Low Countries at the time - as an attribute of the Virgin. The concept is more applicable to an object like the mousetrap made by Joseph, which occurs in the same painting. That is, if one is prepared to accept the interpretation of Meyer Schapiro, who identified the device as a concealed visualization of the theological view which regarded Christ's cross as a mousetrap for the devil; see M. Schapiro, "Muscipula Diaboli." The symbolism of the Mérode altarpiece,' *The Art Bulletin* 27 (1945), pp. 182-87. One of the problems caused by the term 'disguised symbolism' as launched by Panofsky is that time and again it raises the question of what is disguised from whom - the present-day or the medieval observer, or from both. Panofsky is not explicit on this.

74. Panofsky, op. cit. (note 28), p. 141.

75. E.H. Gombrich, 'Aims and limits of iconology,' *Symbolic images. Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London 1972, pp. 1-25.

Notes appendix

1. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, pt. 3, qq. LX-CX, and pt. 3, *Supplementum*, qq. 1-LXVIII. For the English translation use was also made of *The 'Summa Theologica' of St Thomas Aquinas*, literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, pt. 3, London 1914, and pt. 3, *Supplementum*, London 1922.

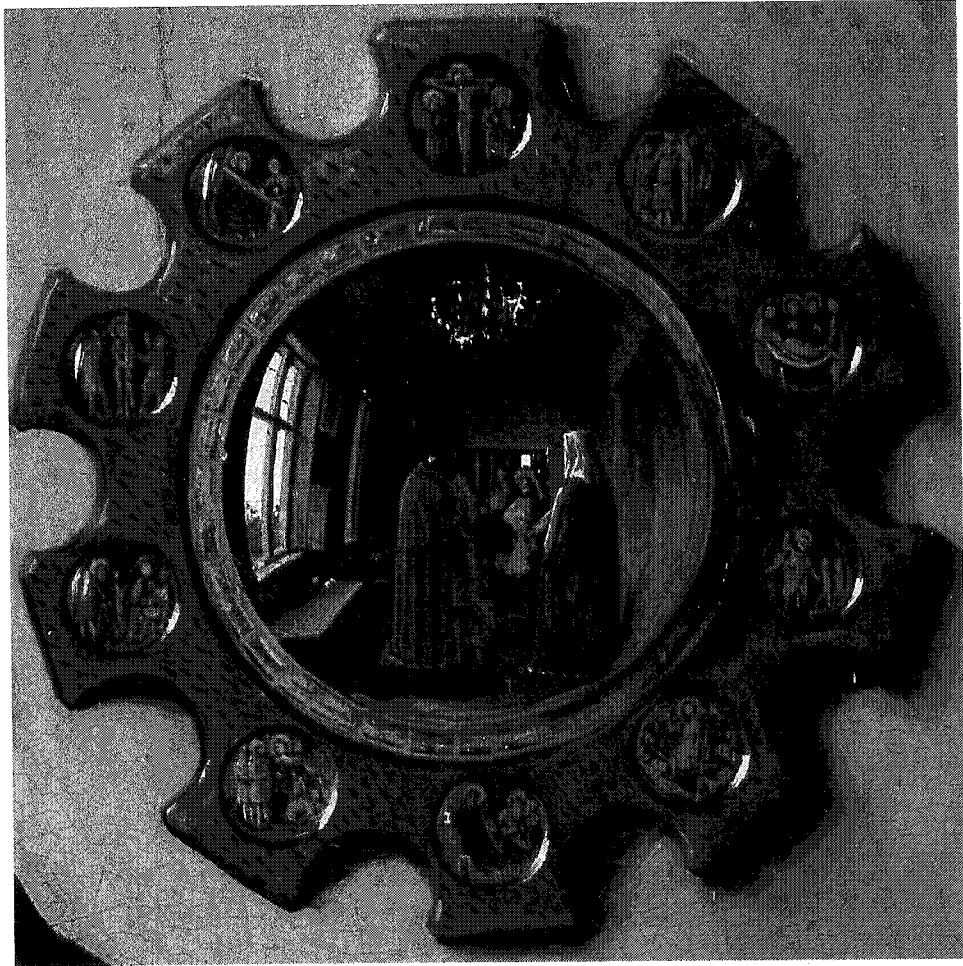
2. This is from the *Supplementum*.

3. 'Matrimony is not the consent itself, but the union of persons, directed to one purpose, as stated above (q. XLIV, a. 1), and this union is the effect of the consent. Moreover, the consent, properly speaking, signifies not the union of Christ with the church, but his will whereby his union with the church was brought about' (see q. XLV, a. 1).

4. For this matter in Thomas see Harnack, op. cit. (note 33), p. 274. For a general discussion of this matter see J.T. Noonan, *Contraception et mariage. Évolution ou contradiction dans la pensée chrétienne*, trans. M. Jossua, Paris 1969, pp. 316-29, 387-433.



1. Jan van Eyck, *The marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*. London, National Gallery. 1434



11. Jan van Eyck, *The marriage of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*, detail. London, National Gallery.



18. Gerard van Honthorst, *Portrait of the family of Elizabeth and Frederick, King and Queen of Bohemia*, 1629. Hannover, Collection Prince Ernst August von Hannover.

*Fruit and fertility. Fruit symbolism in
Netherlandish portraiture of the sixteenth
and seventeenth centuries*

In 1628 Elizabeth Stuart commissioned Gerard van Honthorst to paint a larger than life-size portrait of her family (fig. 18). This picture, which was meant as a gift for her brother Charles I of England, is now considered to be a *portrait historié* with the figures in the role of personages from Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*.¹ But whether or not the aristocratic family portrait was inspired by this pastoral tale, the visual imagery itself conveys a clear message. The immense statue of Mother Nature laden with fruit, to which the father, Friedrich von der Pfalz, calls our attention, is an unequivocal allusion to fertility. The father's gesture communicates pride in his progeny, who are abundantly present in the picture.

This is by no means the only painting from the period in which fertility is the leitmotiv. The same can be said of a great number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century family portraits, of sitters from burgher milieus as well as aristocratic. In portraits of burghers, fertility was usually visualized on a more modest scale. Instead of monumental statues of Mother Nature we might find a well-filled fruit basket, an object more in keeping with the domestic ambience of this sort of portrait (figs. 19-20).

Until now, the fruit basket as a symbol of fertility has been neglected in iconological literature. What has received special attention was one specific fruit, the grape, which as it happens is also the fruit most often being taken from the basket by the sitters themselves (plate III). Curiously enough, in his influential article of 1974, Eddy de Jongh related the gesture of the hand raising a bunch of grapes by the stem to virginity, a quality which, at first glance, seems to be completely at odds with the concepts of fertility and procreation.² What accounted for this particular interest in the bunch of grapes, and the way it was explained, was de Jongh's use of a motif from emblem literature. His interpretation was based on a connection



111. Emanuel de Witte, *Portrait of a family*, signed and dated 1678. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.



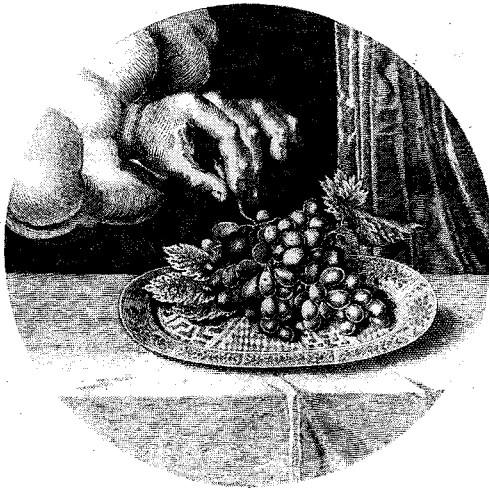
19. Anonymous, *Portrait of a family*.
 Antwerp, Museum voor Schone Kunsten.
20. Jan Boeckhorst, *Portrait of a family*.
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
 Alte Pinakothek.

between the gesture of the hand and two emblems by Jacob Cats, which indeed show a suggestive formal correspondence (figs. 21-22). The same emblems were used by de Jongh to interpret many other portraits as well, in a similar vein. Before dealing in greater detail with his interpretations, I would first like to discuss in a more general sense formal correspondences between paintings and emblems. This phenomenon has given rise to disputable readings, not only by de Jongh but by other students of seventeenth-century Dutch painting as well.

Emblem and interpretation

Since the early 1960s art historians working on Netherlandish painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have made increasing use of emblem literature. This tendency was sparked largely by Eddy de Jongh's classic *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de 17de eeuw* of 1967, which dealt primarily with the relationship between emblems and paintings.³ De Jongh expressly stated that in the interests of accessibility, his study was confined to an interpretation based on emblem literature and applied to a select group of paintings. Nevertheless, many scholars believed that seventeenth-century painting largely sprang from emblem literature, and could therefore be interpreted with the help of this literary genre. De Jongh's good advice against the incautious use of emblem literature as a *clavis interpretandi* went unheeded. Quite a few art historians, armed with Henkel and Schöne's emblematic dictionary, went off in search of formal resemblances between emblems and motifs in paintings. When such a correspondence was found, the emblem's meaning would be projected onto the representation in question, without much regard for its context or iconographic tradition.

It is important to be aware that the relationship between an emblem and a representation can be of various kinds. Moreover, these relationships operate on two distinct levels which are quite frequently confused. One is the level of interpretation, the other that of the analysis of a representation's origin. To take the second point first, a representation may indeed at times owe its origin to an emblem, but within the total output of genre pieces, portraits with accessories, and still lifes, this category is entirely negligible. On the other hand, the scholarly successes yielded by tracing such direct relationships are inversely proportionate to the representativeness of this category. Thus they have helped create a distorted image of seventeenth-century painting and the way in which painters set about their work.



21. J. Swelinck (?) after Adriaen van de Venne,
'Coat of arms dedicated to all chaste maidens.'
Illustration from: Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht*,
Middelburg 1618.

22. J. Swelinck (?) after Adriaen van de Venne,
'Honor is fragile.' Emblem from: Jacob Cats,
Maechden-plicht, Middelburg 1618.

Another factor in the analysis of a representation's origin is that the relationship may be indirect, with both representation and emblem deriving from a common source. Numerous examples are to be found in the catalogue *Tot lering en vermaak*, where more than two-thirds of the interpretations referring to emblem literature deal with emblems that did not serve as a *clavis interpretandi*, but were merely included for their rhetorical quality.⁴ If a direct relationship suggested itself to the reader, this was largely due to the suggestive impact of the formal congruence between emblem and representation. The distinction between a direct and an indirect relationship may not be relevant to the interpretation, but it certainly is to the analysis of origin.

One phenomenon that occurs on the interpretive level is that of pictorial homonymy. This means that even when representation and emblem are formally congruous, they may have widely different meanings. This phenomenon forms a trap which the iconologist should look for and avoid. A fine example of a mistaken homonymic reading is the interpretation in *Tot lering en vermaak* of Jan van Bijlert's *Merry company* using an emblem from Johan de Brune's *Emblemata of zinne-werck* (figs. 23-24).⁵ The emblem and the painting both depict a pretzel being pulled by two figures to see who will receive the longer end. De Brune explains it as a symbol of the transience of life and of man, a spiritually twisted creature caught between God and the devil. The visual resemblance was so strong that the painting too was interpreted in the same way. In doing so, however, the interpreters overlooked the point of the picture, namely that the woman is pulling at the pretzel with two fingers instead of one. This is underscored by the gesture of the figure on the extreme right. In other words, the iconography of the van Bijlert is not a unique derivative from the emblem - which in itself would be enough to set one thinking - but a late example of the larger group of representations of women's wiles.⁶

Pictorial homonymy is not always easy to spot, and for that reason I would like to consider in greater detail de Jongh's interpretation of the hand holding grapes, which I consider a pure example of this fallacy.

The bunch of grapes as a symbol of (second) virginity

De Jongh's article 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries' establishes a direct relationship between bunches of grapes in pictures and two prints in Jacob Cats's *Maechden-plicht* (The maiden's duty), which first appeared in 16187; a pseudo-emblematic coat of arms 'dedicated to all chaste maidens,' and a true emblem in



23. Jan van Bijlert, *Merry company*, signed.
Utrecht, Centraal Museum.

24. Emblem from: Johan de Brune, *Emblemata
of zinne-werck*, Amsterdam 1624.

the same work with the motto 'Eer is teer' ('Honor is fragile'; figs. 21-22).⁸ In 1625 Cats transferred the coat of arms to his great didactic poem *Houwelick* (Marriage), in its second chapter entitled 'Vryster' ('Spinster'; fig. 25).⁹ In all those prints the meaning is identical. The bunch of grapes symbolizes the virginity of a girl yet unwed. The stem represents marriage, and the hand grasping it stands for the man who may not possess a girl except through marriage. The metaphor derives from the practice of holding a bunch of grapes by its stem to avoid smudging the fruit. The same holds true for the unmarried girl. If she loses her virginity before marriage, her reputation will be tarnished.

Assuming, with de Jongh, that the bunch of grapes as a portrait accessory should be interpreted in this way, we immediately run into a number of problems. These problems should in themselves suffice to make us abandon the emblem in our interpretation of this accessory. To begin with, in the vast majority of such representatives, the grapes are held by women, whereas in Cats they are held by a man. Aside from children, I know of only three paintings in which a man holds a bunch of grapes by the stem, and in each of them the men are depicted with their wives and offspring, which is a different situation entirely than in Cats's emblems (plate 1). Should we then interpret the grapes as advertising the fact that the man married his wife when she was still a virgin? To my mind it is highly unlikely that the gesture would be retrospective. De Jongh must have been of the same opinion, for he does not even consider such an interpretation, although it stays closer than any other to the emblem.

Instead, de Jongh adjusts the meaning of the emblem to the situation most frequently found in painting, namely where a bunch of grapes is held up by a woman's hand. But then the emblem can only be used in a mutilated form by ignoring the role of the problematical hand. Such a gross generalization reduces Cats's lines and image to little more than an advertisement of virginity in general. Even in this diluted form, though a new problem arises, the emblem cannot help us very far, since many of the women in the pictures are mothers, no longer virgins. In order to overcome this problem de Jongh had to create a secondary hypothesis which reconciled virginity with motherhood. He discovered a means to this unlikely end in the last two lines of *Vryster-Wapen* (The spinster's coat of arms), where Cats states that a woman, even if she is married and a mother, may remain a virgin, provided she 'gives herself in pure love without stain' ('haer [maeghdom] onbeveleckt in reyne liefde draeght'). Cats took this thesis from Calvin's *Institutions*, who in turn had derived it from John Chrysostom. Calvin fails to specify the sex of the Christian who preserves a second virginity within marriage, allowing de Jongh to



25. "The spinster's coat of arms." Illustration from: Jacob Cats, *Houwelijk*, Middelburg 1625, 'Vryster.'

conclude that the concept was equally valid for men and women. That, however, does not alter the fact that Cats reserved his coat of arms in *Maechden-plicht* and 'Vryster' exclusively for unmarried, virgin girls, and not for mothers, let alone fathers. Moreover, Cats's pronouncement in the closing lines of *Vryster-Wapen* that a girl who is finally 'picked' - in other words, who has entered into marriage - may retain a kind of virginity does not alter the fact that *Vryster-Wapen* is concerned with the first, and not with the second virginity.

Problems of a different nature arise when we attempt to interpret bunches of grapes in portraits as a symbol of second virginity. De Jongh singles out one such problem in his article: he cannot satisfactorily account for those cases in which the sitter holds the grapes themselves instead of grasping them by the stem. It is inconceivable that an artist would choose to deviate from the emblem in this respect, the most crucial element in the conception, unless these are instances of 'iconographic erosion.' But in a case of that kind, an interpretation based on the emblem would lose its justification.

A further implication of de Jongh's theory is that in portraits of boys depicted with grapes, the child in question - although he still possesses his first virginity, as de Jongh might have said - is already being prompted to work on his second virginity (fig. 26). I find this hard to accept even in the case of girls' portraits, but to apply it to boys is definitely carrying things too far. That Cats's bunch of grapes was meant in fact for girls alone can be inferred from a coat of arms included in the volume of poems entitled *Zeeusche Nachtegael* (The Zeeland nightingale).¹⁰ The design was invented by no less a person than the Zeeland poetess Johanna Coomans. She was a close friend of Jacob Cats and presumably familiar with his work and intentions. If Cats's *Vryster-Wapen* had been intended for boys as well as girls, it is hardly likely that she would have designed a separate coat of arms 'dedicated to all honest youths' ('alle eerlicke jongmans toegeeygent'; fig. 27). The lines accompanying this coat of arms, which shows a tongue supported by vine tendrils, leave no doubt that Johanna Coomans intended it as a male pendant to Cats's *Vryster-Wapen*. Incidentally, the problem presented by portraits of individual boys generally is not mentioned by de Jongh, who restricts himself to family portraits with boys holding bunches of grapes. De Jongh argues that in such contexts boys figure as armorial supporters displaying the blazon of their parents' second virginity and the related concept of fertility.



26. Attributed to Jacob Jansz. Coeman, *Portrait of a boy, possibly from the van Riebeeck family*, dated 1663. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



27. 'Coat of arms dedicated to all honest youths.' Illustration from: *Zeeusche Nachtegael...*, Middelburg 1623.

Second virginity and fertility

De Jongh has strayed far from the original intention of Cats's *Vryster-Wapen*. De Jongh, however, strays even further when he asserts that Cats was able to transform the age-old significance of the bunch of grapes as a symbol of fertility into one of virginity. Here he bases himself on the seventeenth-century view that fertility was a byproduct of chastity. This compels us to examine these two concepts and their alleged ethical interdependence in greater detail.

In de Jongh's view second virginity, or chastity within marriage, is a function of 'virtuous love - love, according to the Christian tradition, performed with procreation in mind,' while fertility, he says, is directly related to frequency of copulation. He refers to the influential physician Johan van Beverwyck, who claimed that excessive cohabitation rendered male seed infertile. The corollary of this view is that a man is likely to become sterile unless he copulates with moderation.

De Jongh subsequently connects the concepts of chastity and fertility by using the general term 'moderation.' Needless to say, a man who copulates little, practices 'moderation,' and it will probably also take 'moderation' to have only procreation in mind during coition. But this by no means implies that both kinds of 'moderation' can be treated on a par. In the former case we are dealing with a medical theory supposedly based on frequency, whereas the latter is an ethical theory centered upon intention.

Thus de Jongh's thesis that 'the procreation of a large family [...] fulfilled not only the commandment to be fruitful and multiply but also that to be chaste' can no longer be sustained. What of the man who, copulating little, is consequently fertile but who loves his wife 'as if she were an adulterous woman' ('als of sy een overspeligē vrouwe ware'), to quote the Reformed Pietist Petrus Wittewrongel?¹¹ In such a case the marital bed would definitely be tainted without affecting fertility whatsoever.

Since de Jongh does not deduce the ethical interdependence between the concepts of fertility and chastity from the sources, but on logical grounds, we must resort to casuistry to show that we are here dealing with a fallacy. Nor is the medical connection between the fertility of the seed and frequency of copulation as well established as de Jongh claims.¹² What is of greater importance is that the concept of second virginity and the strict views on what 'virtuous love' entailed in the seventeenth century do not tie in with de Jongh's assertions. 'The moralists of the 17th century, with their variety of religious beliefs, may have differed with each other on subordinate issues,' according to de Jongh, 'but when it came down to the essen-

tials they saw eye to eye: the only conceivable justification for sex, they agreed, was procreation.' This thesis seems untenable to me. The Augustinian view that sexual intercourse was free from sin only if it resulted from a desire for offspring was generally held only until about 1450. Afterward a development began which would undermine this point of view in favor of the legitimacy of pleasure in marital sex, albeit on certain conditions.¹³ Even somebody like Wittewrongel held the opinion that with the exception of the menstrual period and Lent, during which sexual abstinence was called for, man and wife were entitled 'to please and take delight in one another' ('malkanderen vermaecken en verblijden').¹⁴ As long as sexual intercourse was directed toward the gratification of desire, there was no moral problem. The marital bed only became tainted if copulation served to fan the fires of passion.

On the above grounds, we contest de Jongh's conclusion that in some instances 'the bunch of grapes functions as an image both of the "virginal" marriage and of its offspring, a seeming paradox that nonetheless follows perfectly logically from the 17th-century conjunction of chastity and fertility.' To our mind, we are dealing neither with a paradox nor with logic. Cats's bunch of grapes cannot be transformed into a symbol of fertility, nor did Cats himself transform the bunch of grapes from an age-old biblical image of fertility into a symbol of chastity. Cats's point of departure was that grapes tend to stain whenever they are touched, and should therefore be grasped by the stem.

The bunch of grapes as a symbol of fertility

The seemingly inevitable conclusion is that we are facing an instance of pictorial homonymy. We no longer have any reason to assume that the bunch of grapes in the group of portraits dealt with here relates either directly or indirectly to Cats's emblems. But if these emblems are useless to the interpretation and analysis of the origins of the bunch of grapes as an accessory in these portraits, we may well ask where the motif actually came from, and how this might affect our analysis of the way in which such portraits originated in the studio.

The motif under discussion developed particularly from a group of late sixteenth-century family portraits of an existing iconographic type, namely that of a family gathered round a laid table. During the 1590s this type gradually became entwined with motifs taken from Psalms 1 and 128, which teach that a God-fearing life breeds happiness, prosperity and progeny. In these psalms the God-fearing husband is likened to a tree planted by a stream, which bears fruit

each season without fail and whose leaves shall never wither, the children to olive plants, and the wife to a fruitful vine.¹⁵ Such an intertwining of motifs occurs for the first time in a family portrait dated 1583, probably from the southern Netherlands, which in all likelihood originated in Reformed circles (fig. 28). The anonymous artist who was commissioned to do this portrait found himself faced with the problem of how to combine the scene of a family gathered round a laid table - a scene that is usually set indoors - with motifs that only occur outdoors. He solved it by removing the table from the house and placing it on an adjoining terrace. This invention enabled him to integrate the tree growing by the stream into a landscape, and to place the vine with its bunches of grapes, which surround the woman's head like a halo, against the façade of the house. He depicted the children with olive branches between their folded hands, and inscribed the strapwork cartouches on either side of the Hebrew tetragram with metaphorical verses from the psalms regarding husband and wife. At bottom center are the opening verses of Psalm 128: 'Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord; that walketh in his ways. For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.' The tenor of these lines is visualized both by the threatening hand of God with a whip and a rod in the top left-hand corner of the picture, and by the richly laden table.¹⁶

Around 1600 we find a number of prints depicting the same biblical passages. The earliest is by Jacques de Gheyn II, datable about 1595 (fig. 29).¹⁷ This print has fewer motifs than the painting. Apart from the food on the table it only depicts the husband as the fruit-bearing tree, the wife as the vine, and the children as young olive trees. De Gheyn has placed the family indoors, which weakens the realism of the scene; he had to remove part of the wall on the left so as not to deprive us of the view of the tree by the river. The vine rising from the floor to the woman's right and the olive trees next to the children are equally peculiar.

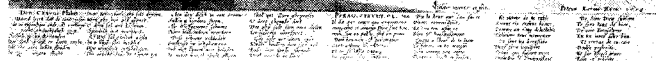
In the print by Robert de Baudous, whose treatment of the theme is indebted to de Gheyn, the space is rendered much more consistently, for the open wall has been closed (fig. 30).¹⁸ However, for the sake of the metaphors occurring in the psalm, one of the walls contains an open arch. Finally, in a print by Claes Jansz. Visscher, an ordinary doorway is substituted for this unrealistic element (fig. 31).¹⁹ Here the door is ajar, enabling the observer to glimpse the tree and the vine. Visscher also omitted the unreal olive plants shooting up from the floor. However, an unreal element is the vine that has crept into the room through the upper windows. This curious motif also occurs in a family portrait from the northern Netherlands, dated 1627



28. Anonymous, Southern Netherlandish (?),
Portrait of a family, dated 1583. Bruges,
 Stedelijke Musea.



29. Jacob de Gheyn II, *Saying grace*.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.
30. Robert de Baudous, *Saying grace*, 1608-10.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



31. Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Saying grace*, 1609.
Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

(fig. 32), where the vine enters the room through an open window and continues along the wall over the heads of the sitters. Here the painter has abandoned the metaphor of the tree, and replaced the olive plants by a branch of cherries, held by the child sitting on its mother's lap.

To this iconographic series we may add a family portrait attributed to J.A. Rotius (fig. 33), and presumably painted in about 1640. This portrait, which is crucial to the development of our theme, shows a married couple with their two children, placed rigidly symmetrical against the wall of a realistic room.²⁰ The wall is divided in half by a pier separating two windows. In front of the pier, on which there is the portrait of a deceased child, is a table with an assortment of fruit, on the table top as well as on the platter.²¹ The father, as head of the family, is sitting on the right of the table, while his son is standing in front of him, holding a pear by its stem. The mother is at the opposite end of the table, and beside her is the daughter, who has a basket of fruit over her left arm. With her right hand the daughter grasps a bunch of grapes, which the father meaningfully holds up to the beholder. What de Jongh failed to observe in his discussion of the painting, is that the bunch of grapes is attached to a vine emerging from the mother's right hand, trailing across the table, behind the daughter, toward the father's hand. The vine may be seen as a natural extension of the wife, who is referred to in the psalm as a 'well-laden vine.' Another vine, clearly visible through the windows, seems attached - in a figurative sense - to the vine emanating from the woman.

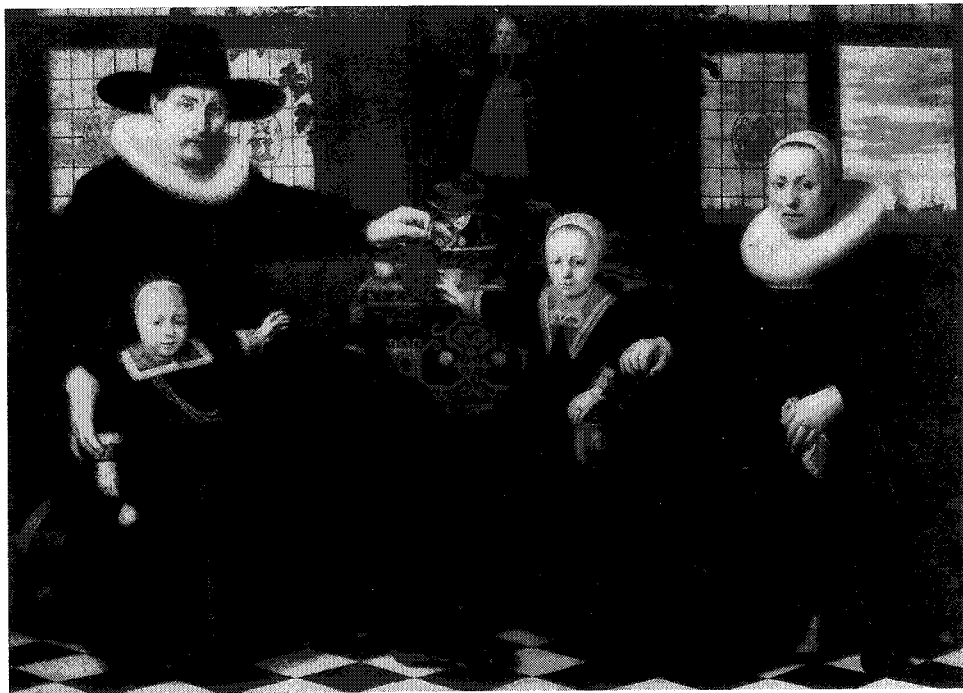
The artist has not introduced the metaphor of the husband as a fruit-bearing tree, but has instead incorporated him in the metaphor of the vine, which was originally reserved for the wife. The step is a logical one, considering that the 'fruit,' although borne by the woman and associated primarily with her, is in fact produced by both man and wife. The bunch of grapes held by the husband now proclaims the couple's fertility.

The following stage in the development of the theme is marked by the removal of the vine, leaving only the bunch of grapes. The wife, entirely in keeping with the Psalm, has herself come to represent the vine, and has consequently become part of the metaphor (fig. 34).

In my opinion, this stage was strongly influenced by a selective pressure on realism, as with the evolution of the pictorial image generally. This pressure was particularly strong in portraiture. Unlike prints with a general didactic purport, where abstract children overgrown with olive plants are still imaginable, individual portraits generally contain metaphors that are supposed to be less obtrusive. While the biblical metaphor retained its meaning and remained



32. Anonymous, *Portrait of a family*, 1627.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (on loan to the
Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht).



33. Jan Albertsz. Rotius (?), *Portrait of a family*.
Location unknown.



34. Pieter Pietersz., *Laurens Jacobsz. and his family*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie.

timeless, it seems that its visualization was increasingly judged on the basis of the criteria of realism and visual consistency. As a result, the metaphor lost some of its meaning as well as its emphasis. The conspicuous vine, an important semantic selector in an interpretation analogous to Psalm 128, vanished. It is therefore not surprising that the bunch of grapes, once separated from the vine, could easily be replaced by any other fruit (fig. 35). It also explains why the bunch of grapes ended up in the fruit platter, where it belongs (figs. 19-20 and plate III), and why it came to represent fertility in a more general sense, rather than in the specifically biblical meaning, which focused on the wife and connoted piety and fear of God.

It is by no means my intention to suggest that this attempt to reconstruct the pictorial evolution of the biblical metaphor of the family is chronologically accurate in all respects. Some artists undoubtedly omitted certain stages in the process. Moreover, the development may have been influenced by other pictorial traditions, such as Mariological iconography. There is little doubt, for example, that the bowl of fruit in a *Holy Family* by Joos van Cleve (fig. 36) alludes to Mary's fertility. There the fruit is shown in conjunction with a text held by Joseph, the very text from the *Ave Maria* that refers to Christ as the fruit of Mary's womb. As regards the individual portrait, it is clear at an early date that existing pictorial traditions had a pruning effect on the depiction of the grape metaphor. This is exemplified by the early sixteenth-century portrait of Agniete van den Rijne by Joos van Cleve (fig. 37). It was executed in accordance with an existing compositional formula, which shows the sitter holding an object that alludes to a specific virtue, or the person's name or profession (fig. 38). Agniete, for instance, is portrayed half-length, elegantly holding a small bunch of grapes in her hand. The vine has been transferred to the windowsill, which forms part of the illusionistic picture frame.

What is clear in all these cases is that the image, too, has laws of its own. The gradual transformation of the image, occasioned by a selective pressure on realism, eventually releases the image from its biblical origin, and allows it to develop in an unforeseen direction.

General and specific symbolism

The interpretation of the bunch of grapes as a symbol of fertility in general removes a number of awkward problems inherent in the narrower interpretation based on Cats's emblems. I have already referred to the difficulty that arises when the grapes are held otherwise than according to Catsian etiquette. De Jongh was also faced



35. Attributed to Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, *Portrait of a family*. Location unknown.



36. Joos van Cleve, *The Holy Family*.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



37. Joos van Cleve, *Portrait of Agniete van den Rijne* (?). Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe.
38. Rogier van der Weyden, *Francesco d'Este*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

with the dilemma of how we should interpret bunches of grapes from before 1618, in other words those predating Cats's *Maechden-plicht*. The only way he could solve this problem was by drawing a distinction between the iconographies of northern and southern Netherlandish painting; from his inventory it turned out that all the northern portraits of people holding grapes dated from after 1618, whereas the earlier examples were from the south. The obvious next step was to find a typically Catholic iconography that suited the latter group. What naturally suggested itself was the Christo-Mariological tradition, in which the vine and the bunch of grapes are recurrent metaphors. In this light, according to de Jongh, the grapes held by the child in a family portrait attributed to Rubens (fig. 39) presumably refer to 'the metaphor of Mary as the vine and Christ as its fruit, and possibly to Christ's role as Savior as well.' And in the case of van Cleve's portrait of Agniete van den Rijne, he is inclined 'to see Agniete performing a kind of "imitatio Mariae."'.

One might well ask whether an iconographic dividing line between Holland and Flanders is altogether justified in this context. Is it not invalidated, for instance, by Pieter Pietersz.'s portrait of the renowned Amsterdam publisher Laurens Jacobsz. and his family, a portrait which unmistakably originated in the northern Netherlands (fig. 34)?²²

Here, as early as 1598, the woman is holding a bunch of grapes in her left hand entirely in Catsian fashion, but a good twenty years before Cats's emblems appeared. I am inclined to assume that the grapes were still an explicit reference to the Psalms. The same applies to the trees in the garden visible through the open window of the imaginary 'Renaissance' room, which may still refer to the God-fearing father, who is here depicted educating his two eldest sons.

As to the interpretations of the Rubens and the Joos van Cleve, I see no reason why they should be expected to correspond to Christo-Mariological iconography. They are, after all, secular portraits, and not religious representations, and the two genres should not be confused.

De Jongh is forced to create another iconographic demarcation toward the end of his article in his discussion of the portrait of Justinian von Holzhausen and Anna Fürstenberg, painted by Conrad Faber von Creuznach in 1536 (fig. 40). Here, Anna is holding a bunch of grapes which is attached to a sprig of vine in the same way as in Agniete's portrait.²³ Since this family was Reformed, a Mariological interpretation would be fundamentally wrong, as indeed it would be in Agniete's case. De Jongh was therefore left with only one possible interpretation, namely an interpretation based on Psalm 128.²⁴

In relation to the latter painting he refers to a poem accompa-



39. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a family*.
Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle.

40. Conrad Faber von Creuznach, *Portrait of
Justinian von Holzhausen and Anna Fürstenberg*,
1536. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut.



41. *Autumnus*. Illustration after Adriaen van de Venne from: Jacob Cats, *Houwelick*, Middelburg 1625, 'Moeder.'

nying a print that is appropriate here, which opens the chapter 'Moeder' (Mother) in Cats's *Houwelick* (fig. 41). In addition, he quotes from the poem 'Echt-sangh' (Hymen) by Dirck Pietersz. Pers, describing the wife as a fruitful vine,²⁵ and concludes that: 'Although conclusive proof, as always, is lacking, we must be prepared to consider the possibility that this imagery (paraphrasing Psalms 128:3, or perhaps an emancipated Marian symbol) also played a role of some kind in seventeenth-century art besides Cats's dominant emblematic application. This would seem most likely in the case of family portraits, especially those by Thomas de Keyser [fig. 42] and Jurriaen Jacobson [fig. 43], where so many "sweet fruits" of the fertile vine are depicted. If I am right, this is an instance of compound symbolism: the bunch of grapes functions as an image both of the "virginal" marriage and of its offspring.' I can offer no explanation as to why the symbolism from Psalm 128 should apply exclusively to portraits such as the ones by de Keyser and Jacobson, unless the decisive factor is the number of children depicted. But then how many children must there be before we can justifiably refer to 'compound symbolism'?

What is more important, however, is that this so-called 'compound symbolism,' an indirect accretion of the specific interpretation based on Cats, relates to the problem of what Gombrich calls 'levels of meaning.' As far as the grapes are concerned, this relates to the question of whether different meanings can be applied to them simultaneously, as in the two paintings mentioned above. De Jongh is explicit about this when interpreting the family portrait by Thomas de Keyser (fig. 42). In his view, the daughter behind the table, although still proudly in possession of her first virginity, is already being prompted by means of the bunch of grapes to work on her second virginity. De Jongh goes on to say that: 'The apple raised demonstratively by the eldest daughter and the richly laden platter of fruit on the table must also have played a role in the iconography of the composition, though their precise meaning evades me. It is uncertain whether the apple is a sign of fertility (the fruit is held over the head of the mother), fruit of the fall of man, there to be overcome, or a concatenation of both, in keeping with the well-known seventeenth-century principle of ambiguity. If we see the apple in combination with the grapes and the Bible, we cannot but interpret the whole as emblematic of fall and redemption. The basket of fruit on the table, to the right of the mother, flows over, mainly with grapes, recalling an image of fertility as old as the Bible.' Here the apple and the grapes are interpreted on various levels. This multiple interpretation is bolstered by means of the rhetorical concept of *ambiguitas*.²⁶ Even if we assume that de Keyser, in painting such portraits, would have used the rules of rhetoric as a guiding principle



42. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of a family*.
Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum
(destroyed in May 1945).



43. Jurriaen Jacobson, *Michiel de Ruyter and his family*, signed and dated 1662. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

- something I refuse to believe - he is unlikely to have chosen to pursue this primarily negative quality of *ambiguitas*. In my view, the ambiguity attributed to seventeenth-century Dutch painting is more likely to be a product of a reception guided by typically iconological premises, creating problems that must have been alien to the seventeenth-century mind.

This sort of interpretation of the average portrait, which tackles each representation as a puzzle in itself, has created an exaggerated notion of the painter's role in the invention of content. Complex layers of meaning would imply that the painter or his patron were communicating a complex train of thought. The same applies to the intricate transformation of Cats's emblem as sketched by de Jongh, but not, however, to the simple step from 'vrucht' (fruit) to 'vruchtbaarheid' (fertility).

Any fruit, regardless of how it was held or by whom, or whether it was simply lying on a platter, must nearly always have referred to a generalized concept of fertility.²⁷ It should be emphasized that when dealing with this concept we should think of the quantity of the offspring not merely in terms of numbers, but in terms of quality as well. The view of Thomas Aquinas - 'Procreating does not only imply begetting children, but also educating them' - would certainly have been endorsed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁸ Begetting children invariably implied educating them. References to both concepts were usually made through pastoral metaphors; the seed which produces the ripe fruits represents the male seed that produces fine children, while the care lavished on the seed, the tender plant, and the fruit symbolize education.²⁹ For a normal commission, therefore, a painter did not need to trouble about the sort of fruit, nor how or where it should be depicted. It is quite possible that even this very generalized meaning was subject to erosion, and that the repertory of fruits was sometimes exclusively used to animate or lend variation to a group portrait.

Looking at the fruit in these portraits in this light not only increases our understanding of the way this accessory was produced, but also of the way in which it must have been received. Besides, it greatly simplifies matters for present-day iconologists, since the approach proposed here, having both a more general and more intelligible purport, removes all problems created by specific interpretations rooted in a specific emblem.

Once our idea of the meaning and origins of this accessory ceases to be obscured by the wrongly assumed relationship with Cats's emblem, the way is open to a more sensible interpretation of the portraits in which it occurs. At least it seems to me to make sense that a couple in the seventeenth century would want their family portrait

to reflect their pride in their offspring rather than present a mutilated allusion to their infrequent lovemaking.

Notes

This article was first presented in a lecture delivered in Utrecht before the Stichting Postuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Onderzoek in December 1985 and subsequently published in *Simiolus* 17 (1987), pp. 150-68. The article is reprinted here with a few minor changes. I am greatly indebted to Jeroen Stumpel for his critical reading of the manuscript, and I would also like to thank Dr. Hans Vlieghe for his attribution of the *Portrait of a family* in fig. 3 to Jan Boeckhorst. The article was translated from the Dutch by Wim Honders.

1. For the painting see Hermann Braun, *Gerard und Willem van Honthorst*, Göttingen 1966 (diss.), p. 46 and cat. nr. 83. In the catalogue of Charles's collection made between 1637 and 1640 the portrait is mentioned as being 'in manner of storie.' This addition proved to be misleading, and prompted a search for a fitting story, in which the pastoral setting of the painting became the guiding principle. Braun states (p. 229): 'Honthorst derived the scene from the end of the tale. Seizing on the aspect of the work expressive of "per aspera ad astra," he captured the mood of the text rather than attempting to render it precisely. Moreover, it was not possible to stick to the text, since the children of the Bohemian king and queen had to be given a prominent part' ('Honthorst entlehnt die Szene dem Schluss des Romans. Dabei trifft er unter dem Aspekt "per aspera ad astra" mehr die Stimmung, als dass er sich allzusehr an den Text hält. Dieses war ohnehin nicht möglich, da den Kindern des böhmischen Königspaares eine entscheidende Rolle zukommen sollte'). This in itself seems to me ample reason to eliminate the novel as a possible

source for the scene. Besides, 'storie' need not imply more than *figuurstuk* (figure painting; see Hessel Miedema, *Karel van Mander: den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, Utrecht 1973, vol. 1, p. 126, and vol. 2, pp. 462-63). The interpretation based on d'Urfé was recently adopted (albeit with some reservations) by Alison McNeil Kettering in *The Dutch arcadia. Pastoral art and its audience in the Golden Age*, Montclair and Woodbridge 1983, pp. 67, 101, 172.

2. E. de Jongh, 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries,' *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 166-91. In recent years, literature dealing with the interpretation of seventeenth-century Dutch painting has frequently referred to 'emblematic interpretation.' The aim, according to Hans-Joachim Raupp, 'Ansätze zu einer Theorie der Genremalerei in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46 (1983), p. 401, is to 'decipher the layers of meaning and literary allusions hidden in paintings, and relate the significance of genre painting to the classical concept of "docere et delectare"' ('in den Bildern verborgene

Sinnschichten und literarische Anspielungen zu entziffern und die Aufgabe der Genremalerei in das klassische Bezugsfeld des "docere et delectare" einordnet'). Describing this hermeneutic technique as an 'emblematic interpretation' is extremely unfortunate, as it wrongly suggests that the interpretation is invariably based on emblem literature, and that emblem books caused the production of the paintings. It would be more accurate to confine the term 'emblematic interpretation' to those cases in which an interpretation has actually made use of emblem literature.

3. E. de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de 17de eeuw*, Amsterdam 1967.

4. Exhib. cat. *Tot lering en vermaak. Bekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (by E. de Jongh [introduction], J.B. Bedaux, P. Hecht, et al.), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1976.

5. Ibid., pp. 68-71 (cat. nr. 11).

6. Cf. for example the small and large series of *Vrouwenlisten* (Women's wiles) by Lucas van Leyden (exhib. cat. *Lucas van Leyden-grafiek. Met een complete oeuvre-catalogus van zijn gravures, etsen en houtsneden*, Amsterdam [Rijksmuseum] 1978, pp. 140-41), and *Tot lering en vermaak*, op. cit. (note 4), nrs. 10, 35, 65.

7. De Jongh, op. cit. (note 2).

8. Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht ofte ampt der ionk-vrouwen, in eerbaer liefde, aenghewesen door sinne-beelden*, Middelburg 1618, 'Wapenschild alle eerbare maeghden toe-ghe-eyghent,' and pp. 54-55.

9. Idem, *Huwelick: dat is de gansche gelegentheydt des echten staets*, Middelburg 1625, 'Vryster,' p. [v].

10. *Zeeusche nachtegael: ghenaeemt minne-sang*, Middelburg 1623, pp. 1-6. This coat of arms was later included by Cats's friend Johan van Beverwyck in his *Van de wtnementheyt des vrouwelicken geslachts*, Dordrecht 1643², pp. 177-82. I would like to thank Martin Royalton-Kisch who kindly drew my attention to van Beverwyck's source.

11. For Wittewrongel's view on cohabitation see L.F. Groenendijk, *De nadere reformatie van het gezin. De visie van Petrus Wittewrongel op de christelijke huishouding*, Dordrecht 1984, pp. 82-83.

12. Here de Jongh quotes as possible sources Cats, de Brune, and van Beverwyck. However,

Cats, op. cit. (note 9), 'Moeder,' pp. 7-8, deals with the relationship 'between frequency of copulation on the one hand and the rapid aging and undermining of the body on the other ('Nimius coitus est destructio corporis, et abbreviatio vitae'). Johan de Brune, *Emblemata of zinne-werck*, Amsterdam 1624, p. 12, is concerned rather with the relationship between the frequency of copulation and the quantity of the seed. Van Beverwyck, *Schat der gesontheyt*, Dordrecht 1640³, p. 591, is the only one who seems to discuss the relationship meant by de Jongh. However, the passage in question is not at all clear, and is therefore an inadequate basis for such a far-reaching thesis. The fragment from van Beverwyck (p. 582) cited by de Jongh is not about the relationship between drunkenness and the fertility of the seed (which, incidentally, is irrelevant here) but about the detrimental effects of intoxication on the unborn child during coition, since it predestines the child to become a drunkard.

13. For this aspect see John T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception et mariage. Évolution ou contradiction dans la pensée chrétienne*, Paris 1969, pp. 390-421; Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Assen 1982, pp. 9-12, 30, 70ff.

14. Groenendijk, op. cit. (note 11).

15. The relevant lines from Psalm 1 read as follows. 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.' Psalm 128 reads: 'Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord; that walketh in his ways. For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee. Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house: thy children like olive plants round about thy table. Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord. The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion: and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life. Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel.'

16. The aged woman inside the house

watching the scene outdoors through a window is possibly a visualization of verse 6 of Psalm 128. For the painting see Dirk de Vos, *Stedelijke Musea Brugge. Catalogus schilderijen 15de en 16de eeuw*, Bruges 1979, pp. 71-72. The texts in the picture read as follows.

Top left:

Ghelijck Eenem Boom ontrent die water beken
Ten bequamen tijde, zijne goede vruchten
gheeft

Alzo sal oock wesen den man Gyeleken
De welcke In de vreesse des heeren leeft.

PSALM I

(Like a tree by the rivers of water / That brings
forth his right fruits in his season, / Thus shall
be the man / Who lives in the fear of God.)

Top right:

Dijne huisvrouw die sal wesen vruchtbaer
Als Eenem welgheladen wynstok Idoone
Ende u kijnderen Als planten van Oliven Claer
rontome uw taefelen Reijn ende schoone.

PSALM CXXVIII

(Your wife shall be fruitful / Like a sweet well-
laden vine, / And your children like pure olive
plants / Round about your table untainted and
clear.)

Bottom center:

Salych Sijnse die den Heere vreesen

Onghemete[n]

Ende die wandelen in syn weeghen tot allen
tijden

Den Aerbeyt uwer Handen die Sult ghij Eeten
Salich zydy Ende u zal Seer wel gheschijen.

(Blessed is everyone who fears the Lord
without measure / And those who will always
walk in his ways. / The labor of your hands you
shall eat, / Blessed you are, and you shall
prosper.)

17. The first text below the print is a metrical Latin translation of Psalm 128, derived from *Paraphrases psalmorum Davidis poetica* (1566) by George Buchanan (1506-1582). The second text is a rhymed version in Dutch of Psalm 128.

18. The first text in the print repeats the

Latin text in the print by de Gheyn (see note 17). The second consists of a rhymed version in Dutch of a combination of Psalms 1 and 128.

19. The first text in this print is a rhymed version in Dutch of Psalm 128 (different from the one in the print by de Gheyn). The second is a rhymed version in French of Psalm 128.

20. For the attribution and dating of this picture see B.J.A. Renckens, 'De Hoornse portretschilder Jan Albertsz. Rotius,' *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 2 (1948-49), pp. 181-82 and cat. nr. 9. It appears from a jotting in the RKD at The Hague that Renckens withdrew this attribution to Rotius. The painting probably dates from ca. 1640, and not from ca. 1645 as Renckens assumed.

21. From a study of depictions of deceased children it appears that in family portraits they could be shown as living children (occasionally nude, or practically nude), as cherubim, or, as frequently occurred with deceased ancestors and parents, by means of a picture within a picture. I am currently preparing an article on dead children in Netherlandish painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

22. For the identification of the figures in this portrait see R.E.O. Ekkart, 'Een portret van Laurens Jacobsz. en zijn gezin,' *De Boekenwereld* 1 (1985-86), nr. 3, pp. 13-15.

23. With respect to this painting, de Jongh notes that the emphasis is on the vine and the fruit alike. The same, however, also applies to the picture in fig. 16.

24. It seems not unlikely that the tree behind the man represents the tree from Psalm 1.

25. Cats, op. cit. (note 9), 'Moeder,' p. 1. Cats's original intention was to treat in his *Houwelick* only those four stages of marriage that corresponded to the four seasons, with motherhood being compared to the mature autumn. The poem accompanying the print at the beginning of 'Moeder,' which shows a woman whose head is wreathed with vine leaves and who is holding a large basket of grapes, reads as follows.

De wijngaert dient gestut, de druif begint te
swellen.

De boomen staen bevrucht, de jonge tacken
hellen;

Koom plant nu groene jeught, jnt jonge lieden,
 jnt,
 Daer naeckt een rijpen tijdt wannermen vruc
 ten vint.
 Siet hier een swanger lijf genegen om te baren,
 Siet hier een lieve vrucht, die na de moeder
 dorst;
 Nu koomt, ô voester, koomt; en geeft het kint
 de borst.

(The vine in the vineyard needs support, the grape begins to swell. / The trees are bearing fruit, young branches are weighted down; / Now come and plant green youth, [and] graft young people, graft, / A mature period is approaching fast, when fruits are to be found. / Behold this pregnant body preparing to give birth, / Behold this tender fruit, craving for its mother; / Now come, O nurse, do come; and give the child the breast.)

For the original intent of *Houwelick* see Domien ten Berge, *De hooggeleerde en zoetvloeiende dichter Jacob Cats*, The Hague 1979, pp. 77ff. For Pers's poem see Dirck Pietersz. Pers, *Bellerophon, of lust tot wijsheit*, Amsterdam 1641⁶, pp. 66-67.

26. For this notion the author refers in his note 34 to Lee A. Sonnino, *A handbook to sixteenth-century rhetoric*, London 1968, pp. 27-28. The reference in the same note to Hessel Miedema, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 2, pp. 306-07 does not concern *ambiguitas*. What Miedema is referring to is a method of multiple interpretation that was based on the multiple scriptural exegesis, and which was applied by Karel van Mander among others, in his *Uutleggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis*, which occasionally deals with a 'gheschiedighe' (historical), a 'natuerlijcke' (natural), and a 'leerlijcke' or 'sin-ghevende' (didactic) explanation of the same image.

Jacob Cats, too, elaborated this idea in his collection of emblems *Silenus Alcibiadis sive Proteus*, in which each print was explained in three different ways, these being an amorous, a social, and a religious explanation. I still agree with Gombrich as far as van Mander's commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is concerned. If various meanings are attributed to a certain story, they need not necessarily be simultaneously valid. The context of the painting determines which of these meanings

applies; see E.H. Gombrich, 'Aims and limits of iconology,' *Symbolic images. Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London 1972, pp. 7-9. I stated earlier that, in terms of numbers, the paintings that derive directly from emblem literature are almost negligible. But even if a painting did derive from this specific book of emblems by Cats (see for example my interpretation of J.G. Cuyp's *Three children in a landscape* below, pp. 122-27), then the context would still determine which of the three explanations applies.

27. Kettering (op. cit. [note 1], pp. 73-74) rightly relates the fruit in pastoral portraits to the fertility of the family.

28. *The 'Summa Theologica' of St Thomas Aquinas*, literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, pt. 3, *Supplementum*, London 1922, p. 147 (49, art. 2). Cf. also Noonan, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 358-59, 424-25, 607-08; Groenendijk, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 139ff.; Haks, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 157ff.

In his image of 'Fecondita' or 'vruchtbaerheyt' (fertility), Ripa advisedly speaks of 'veele goede, deughdsame, en treflycke kinderen' ('many fine, virtuous, and excellent children'); see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytheeltingen des verstands*, ed. D.P. Pers, Amsterdam 1644, pp. 579-81. In this context he tells the story of a wealthy woman who flaunted her riches in the house of the fertile Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi. Cornelia detained the woman until her twelve children came home from school, and retorted, pointing at her offspring: 'Behold, these are all my tapestries and valuables.' This story, taken from Valerius Maximus, inspired a family portrait by Jan van Bijlert, see G.J. Hoogewerff, 'Jan van Bylert, schilder van Utrecht (1598-1671),' *Oud Holland* 80 (1965), p. 23, fig. 27.

29. For these metaphors see below, pp. 109-60; Johan van Beverwyck, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 569-93.

*Discipline for innocence. Metaphors for education
in seventeenth-century Dutch painting*

I

Contemporary theories on child raising and educational psychology draw on instances of animal behavior which serve to corroborate hypotheses on human conduct. Similar ideas can be found in writings from Antiquity, and it should not surprise us that these have affected educational theory throughout the ages. A group of seventeenth-century children's portraits, for example, depicting metaphors which can be traced directly to these writings, should be regarded as arguments *ad oculos* to support the views on education prevailing at the time.

In 1651, Theodoor van Thulden painted the portrait of Josina Copes-Schade van Westrum and her children (fig. 44). The mother is showing her brood, who are faced with the choice between good and evil, the arduous road to the Temple of Virtue situated on top of a mountain. One of the Latin inscriptions in the painting refers to this road as the path to eternal life. The lure of evil is embodied in the statuary on the left, representing the inseparable trio Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid, who, according to the inscription on the pedestal, lead naïve mankind astray.¹ What is less obvious in this painting is that the way in which it is interpreted was determined to a considerable extent by Cesare Ripa's personification of household management ('Oeconomia,' or 'Huysbestieringe'). In the *Iconologia*, this personification is depicted as a woman adorned with an olive wreath, holding a pair of compasses in her left hand and a wand in her right. She is also shown with a ship's rudder (fig. 45). Since the mother in our picture has only the rudder of this personification (which she is holding in her left hand), we may conclude that the painter or his client wanted to emphasize a particular aspect of Ripa's definition of



44. Theodoor van Thulden, *Josina Copes-Schade van Westrum and her children*, signed and dated 165(?). 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum.



45. *Household management* from: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*..., Amsterdam 1644.

household management, namely the education of children. According to Ripa, the rudder represents 'the care and supervision a father [and, by implication, the mother] should exercise to ensure that his children do not stray into the sea of childish sensualities from the path of virtue, to which they should be guided with all diligence and assiduity.'²

This moral lesson, as represented here by van Thulden, alludes specifically to a child's experience of lust which it must learn to bridle under the guidance of its parents. This aspect of education cannot be explained simply by referring to the seventh commandment but should be seen within the context of contemporary pedagogical theory, which was based largely on classical sources. A major source was Plutarch's *De liberis educandis*, a treatise on education which was frequently reprinted, translated, and adapted from the fifteenth century onward. It had a tremendous impact on pedagogical literature, and presumably also on educational practice.³

Plutarch's theory derives from Aristotle, who maintained that *natural aptitude* (nature) should always be improved by teachable *rules* (education), which require constant *practice* (exercise). Only in combination do these three components, commonly referred to as the triad *natura-ars-exercitatio*, or the sequence nature-reason-habit, guarantee a successful upbringing.⁴ Plutarch illustrated and clarified this theory by means of a number of educational metaphors, the most important of which is the parable of Lycurgus, king and legendary lawgiver of Sparta:

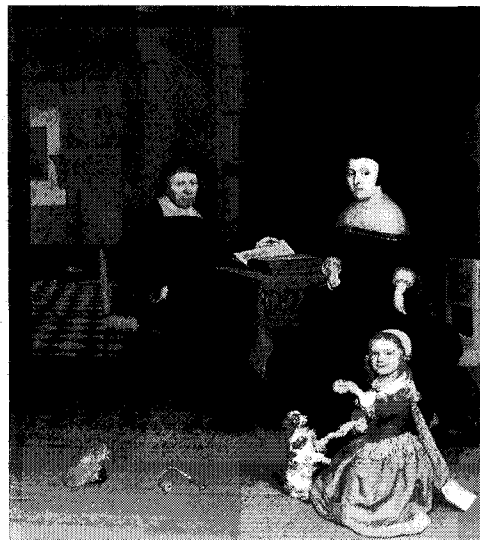
Lycurgus [...] took two puppies of the same litter, and reared them in quite different ways, so that from the one he produced a mischievous and greedy cur, and from the other a dog able to follow a scent and to hunt. And then at a time when the Spartans were gathered together he said, 'Men of Sparta, of a truth habit and training and teaching and guidance in living are a great influence toward engendering excellence, and I will make this evident to you at once.' Thereupon producing the two dogs, he let them loose, putting down directly in front of them a dish of food and a hare. The one dog rushed after the hare, and the other made for the dish. While the Spartans were as yet unable to make out what import he gave to this, and with what intent he was exhibiting the dogs, he said, 'These dogs are both of the same litter, but they have received a different bringing-up, with the result that the one has turned out a glutton and the other a hunter.'⁵

Plutarch's parable was intended to demonstrate that the behavior of the adult largely depends on the discipline learned and absorbed by

him as a child by means of constantly applied rules. It enjoyed immense popularity at the time and appeared in numerous educational treatises and other writings on learning processes.⁶ It is therefore all the more puzzling why depictions of this parable are almost completely absent from the visual arts. In all European painting only one instance is known of a visualization of this metaphor. This is Caesar van Everdingen's *Lycurgus*, a painting commissioned by the municipality of the city of Alkmaar, which will be discussed at length in the second part of this essay (plate VI).⁷

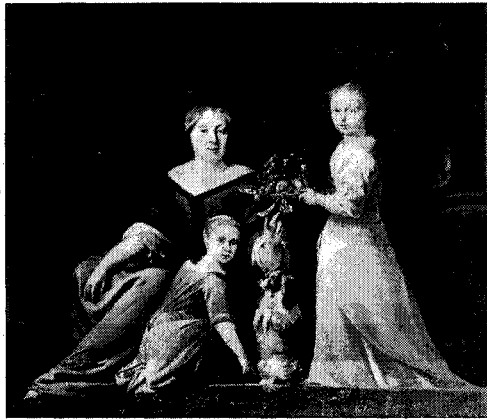
There are, however, other variants of the subject of the training of dogs. A common attribute, particularly in seventeenth-century portraiture and genre painting, is the well-trained dog that sits up and begs (figs. 46–50).⁸ This iconographic tradition originated directly from Plutarch's treatise as a self-evident translation of this text into a compact visual image that reflected contemporary practice. Thus the anecdotal dog from the parable of Lycurgus was transformed into a standard attribute. The fact that the parable was indeed reduced to this image is borne out by an emblematic contribution to the *Album amicorum* of the famous geographer and humanist Abraham Ortelius at the end of the sixteenth century (fig. 51).⁹ The two dogs in the *icon*, which constitutes the pictorial component of the emblem, demonstrate what education (*doctrina*) and exercise (*usus*) can achieve. In this emblem, therefore, education and exercise, the two components of the Aristotelian triad that make up the motto of the emblem, are directly related to the trained dogs.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, we find another image of a dog sitting on its haunches; as the accompanying text suggests, it, too, is meant as a variant of Plutarch's parable. It is the *icon* of an emblem from the book *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, which was translated into Dutch as early as 1640, when the book was first published (fig. 52). The person primarily responsible for this edition was Adrianus Poirters, a Jesuit author who achieved fame both in Flanders and abroad. The emblem below the motto 'Dancken voor bancken' (a phrase which may be rendered as 'Saying grace') exhorts educators to teach their charges to say grace before a meal. The lesson is visualized in the *icon* by a dog which is taught to beg before it is fed. The landscape in this engraving by Cornelis Galle shows a striking contrast between the neat row of tall, erect trees on the left, and the wild, tangled growth on the right. The poem accompanying the emblem suggests that the trees on the left symbolize the fruits of a successful education, while unruly nature on the right represents the consequences of a bad upbringing.¹⁰ This theme of young trees which must be cultivated to prevent them from growing wild and crooked was also drawn from Plutarch, who illustrated his educa-



46. Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a young girl*, signed and dated 1658. Private collection.

47. Jacob Ochterveld, *Portrait of a family group*, signed and dated 1663. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum (gift of Frederic F. Sherman in memory of his brother Frank D. Sherman).



48. Dutch School, *Portrait of Johan de Rijp and his family*, detail showing his first wife and the daughters from his first marriage. Private collection.

49. Jan Baptist Weenix, *A mother and her child in front of a city gate*, signed. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



50. Karel du Jardin, *The affectionate mother amusing her child*. Location unknown.



51. Contribution by Johann M. Wacker in the
Album amicorum Abraham Ortelius, 1584.
Cambridge, Library of Pembroke College.



52. Emblem from: *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuw der Societeyt Iesu....*, Antwerp 1640.

tional theory by means of the Lyncurgus parable - which reflects a similar dichotomy - and through a great number of closely related metaphors.¹¹ Since the dog in this emblem occurs in a context deriving from Plutarch, it should be regarded as a variant of the well-trained dog of Lyncurgus. The significance of the dogs however is the same. In both cases, they are examples of nature corrected by training or, in other words, by instruction and education.

An instance of this variant which is of even greater interest because of its wide dissemination occurs in Jacob Cats's noted manual of behavior, the *Houwelick* (Marriage), which was published in 1625 (fig. 53). It appears in the engraving accompanying the poem 'Maeghde-Wapen' (Maiden's Arms), which precedes the first part of the *Houwelick* entitled 'Maeght.' The author compares the young virgin to a flower in bud which has to be treated with the utmost care to ensure that the delicate plant is unspoilt when it blooms. The poem as a whole may be regarded as an injunction against physical love, which, even at its most innocent, may stain the girl's reputation. Cats relates the precept of chastity to the notions of 'eenvoudicheyt,' or simplicity, and 'leersucht,' docility. In this context, simplicity refers to the avoidance of evil in general, and docility to the acquisition of qualities that make a decent and honorable citizen. Beneath the motto 'lateat dum pateat' ('it hides until it opens') in the engraving accompanying the poem - which together constitute a pseudo-emblem - are two young virgins on either side of a lozenge-shaped coat of arms. The device incorporates an ornamental vase and a tulip surrounded by a swarm of bees - denoting a virgin besieged by suitors. The girl on the right, whose attributes are a pigeon and a lamb, personifies simplicity, a concept to which I will return later on. The other figure, Docility, has sewing equipment, a parrot, and a dog seated on its hind legs in the begging posture.¹²

By the middle of the century, this print in particular helped popularize the theme of the trained dog in Dutch portraiture and genre painting.

In Italian painting, however, the trained dog as a symbol of education appeared almost two centuries earlier. A good example is a *desco da parto*, or birth plate, from ca. 1435-40, which was painted on both sides, and executed in the style of Masaccio (figs. 54a-54b). Decorated trays of this type were used for presenting gifts to a woman who had just given birth. The front of the tray shows a view into a quattrocen-to palazzo. On the right we can see the mother in bed, surrounded by a number of women, one of whom is holding a child in swaddling on her lap. Visitors are arriving in the court - nuns and women in the center, and on the left two men preceded by heralds. Some are bearing gifts, and one is carrying a *desco da parto*. The reverse of the



53. *Maiden's Arms* from: Jacob Cats, *Houwelijk*, Haarlem 1642.



54a. Follower of Masaccio, *Desco da parto*.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz.

54b. Follower of Masaccio, *Desco da parto*,
reverse. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer
Kulturbesitz.

plate shows a naked child instructing a puppy, which, considered within the context of Plutarch's metaphor, is a highly appropriate scene for a birth plate.¹³

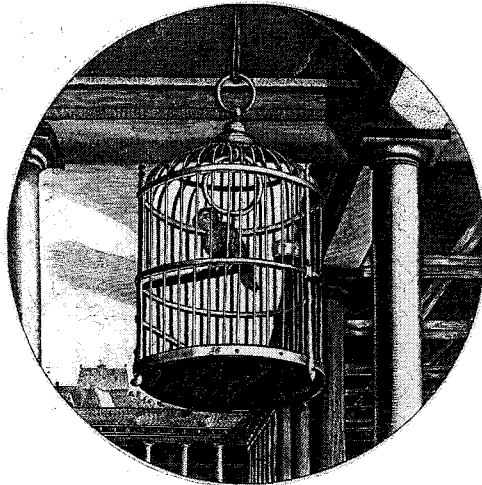
The same motifs of a cradle scene and the training of puppies occurs in a Flemish tapestry from 1585 representing the birth of the Virgin Mary (fig. 55). In a departure from traditional iconography, we find a child teaching a puppy to beg in front of St. Anne's bed. The scene alludes to Anne as the person responsible for Mary's education. Mary's upbringing by Anne was a favorite theme, and remained so even after the Counter Reformation.

Dating from the same period are a number of children's portraits which show a dog leaping up against a child. J.W. Delff's portrait of a two-year-old boy is one example (fig. 56). Although there is no obvious allusion to training here, it should be borne in mind that in these cases, too, explicit notions of learning and instruction may have played a part in the choice of the motif.¹⁴

Besides the trained dog, parrots, too, appear in children's portraits as a symbol of docility (fig. 57). The parrot occurs in this sense in Cats's emblem book *Proteus* under the motto 'Dwanck leert sanck' ('Discipline teaches speech'; fig. 58). A person who aspires to honor, Cats maintains, must be subject to strict discipline from childhood.¹⁵ In the *Iconologia*, too, docility is personified by a young virgin with a parrot. Referring to the Greek physician Galen, Ripa states that she must be depicted as a young girl, because it is the young child who is best able to learn. According to the medical views current at the time, a child's brain contained a great deal of fluid, and was consequently soft and tender. Hence the child was highly impressionable and could easily practice what it had been taught. But just as the child could easily pursue the path of virtue, so it could learn evil. As this could not be remedied later in life because of the altered physical condition at that stage, small children should be exposed only to virtuous and socially acceptable behavior.¹⁶ These are the ideas underlying a series of aphorisms and proverbs with which Cats begins his famous *Spiegel van den ouden en nieuwen tijdt* (Mirror of ancient and modern times) whose opening pages are devoted entirely to education. The first proverb, 'Unlike old trees, young branches can be bent,' was illustrated by a picture of a man trying in vain to straighten a crooked tree (fig. 59). Cats emphasizes the fact that children can only be taught while they are young.¹⁷ The importance of providing education of a positive nature is illustrated by the sixth emblem in Cats's *Proteus*, which bears the motto 't Wordt t'samen groot' ('It grows together'; fig. 60). The *icon* consists of a lime-tree with an inscription carved into its trunk. The second application of this emblem - the application pointing to its social significance - Cats explains, is that



55. *The birth of the Virgin Mary*, tapestry,
Flemish, 1585. Como, Museo Civico.
56. J.W. Delff, *Portrait of a two-year-old boy*,
1581. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



57. J.A. van Ravesteyn, *Portrait of a young boy*.
Leningrad, Hermitage.
58. Emblem from: Jacob Cats, *Proteus....*,
Rotterdam 1627.



59. Illustration from: Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den ouden en nieuwen tijdt*, The Hague 1632.

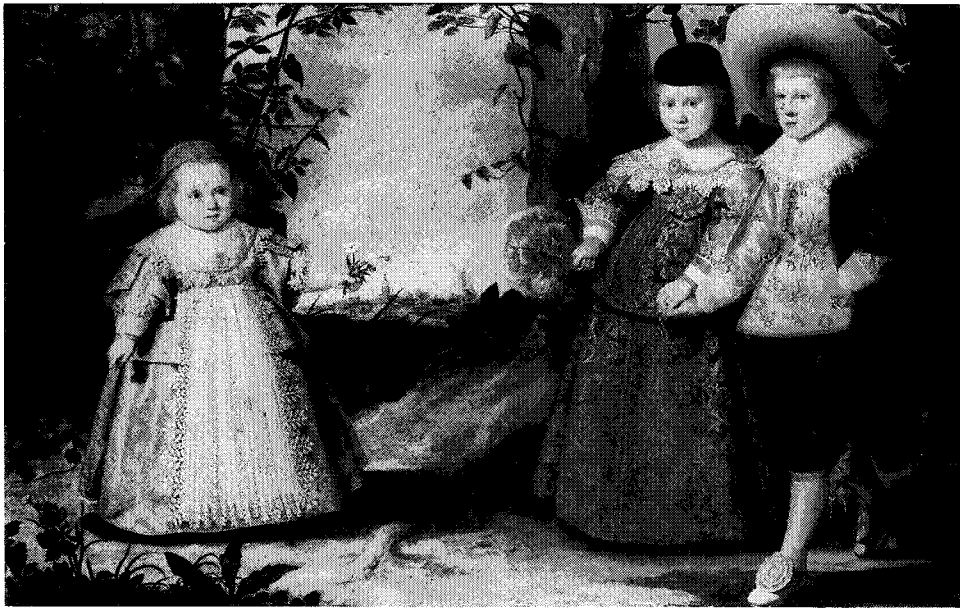


60. Emblem from: Jacob Cats, *Proteus...*,
Middelburg 1618.

whatever is inscribed on the tree grows together with it. The same, of course, applies to children. Thus evil, once ingrained, increases with time.¹⁸ I refer to this emblem because it may be a key to the interpretation of a group portrait painted by J.G. Cuyp in 1635 (fig. 61). This Dordrecht painter, whose accessories in children's portraits are highly inventive, painted the ages of the three lavishly dressed children - 2 1/4, 6, and 8 years - as though they were carved on the trunks of the trees behind them.

A similar theme occurs in the *Iconologia*, where Ripa's personification of education has a sapling tied to a stick. He explains the attribute as follows: '[...] it is included in order to show that education refers not only to the study of good arts and sciences, but also to the acquisition of good manners and habits. We must use every means to ensure that the young plant representing youth grows straight, or, in other words, that it is nurtured well. For if education is neglected like an untended field, particularly when fertile, it will merely yield thistles and thorns. It is for this reason that Galen compares the education of children to the cultivation of plants' (fig. 62).¹⁹ In his *Groot schilderboek*, de Lairese considers this personification particularly suitable to be included in the decoration program of a nursery.²⁰

The roses trained along a trellis in the background of the boy's portrait by Ludolf de Jongh (plate IV) and the climbing rod with iron bands - topped by a statuette representing Abundance carrying wheat and fruit - in a girl's portrait by J.A. Rotius (plate V) may be regarded as variants of the attributes of Education we have just referred to. The carefully cultivated carnations in the ornamental vase in the second painting contrast sharply with the fallen trees and withered branches in the background. On the one hand, we have an image of cultivated nature, literally in bonds (the iron bands), which, to use one of Plutarch's metaphors, 'produces an abundance of good and beautiful fruits.' The girl and those people responsible for her education can likewise reap the fruits of a good upbringing. On the other hand, we see nature untamed, which, according to Ripa, brings forth thistles and thorns, or vices like vanity to which women in particular were supposedly susceptible. Lust and vanity, indeed, were considered the main problems for educators to tackle. Hence, Rotius's painting includes a peacock to symbolize the vanity which a good education should prevent.²¹ The peacock occurs with the same meaning in an allegorical portrait by Ferdinand Bol, painted in 1663. It shows Anna Maria Trip being taught by her elder sister Margarita, who is represented as Minerva, the modest, reserved, maidenly goddess of art, science, and wisdom (fig. 63). It is her task to complement and perfect nature, or, as Otto van Veen writes in one of the emblems from his *Emblemata Horatiana*: 'Naturam Minerva perfecit'



61. J.G. Cuyp, *Three children in a landscape*,
signed and dated 1635. Rotterdam, Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen.



62. *Education* from: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Padua 1630.

63. Ferdinand Bol, *Anna Maria Trip being taught by her sister Margarita*, signed and dated 1663. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



IV. Ludolf de Jongh, *Portrait of a young boy*,
signed and dated 1661. Richmond, Virginia
Museum of Fine Arts.



v. Jan Albertsz. Rotius, *Portrait of a four-year-old girl with carnation*, 1663. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario.

(fig. 64).²² Since Bol has combined Minerva with a Triton she may at the same time be interpreted as Tritonia, a name which is generally reserved for Minerva as a goddess of war.²³ War must have been meant metaphorically as the child's struggle against vice. Scripture, represented by the two putti carrying a bible, is the main weapon.²⁴

A different portrait by Rotius has a large thistle to the right of the girl holding a piece of fruit (fig. 65). Viewed in conjunction with the significant accessories in other portraits by this painter, it may be assumed that the fruit, representing cultivated fertile, and the thistle, representing uncultivated barren nature, should be interpreted as symbols of good and bad education.²⁵ Adriaen Hanneman, too, employed the combination of fruit and thistles in his portrait of William III from 1654 (fig. 66). The four-year-old prince, who is wearing the blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter on his left shoulder, is picking a fruit from a cultivated orange tree. In the foreground we can discern thistles, partly hidden under the long garment he is wearing. Although the oranges here undoubtedly represent the well-known 'appeltjes van Oranje' (the orange as a symbol of the House of Orange), they also have an educational connotation.²⁶

At this point I would like to advance the idea that fruit, the most favored accessory in children's portraits, shows the subject not only as the product of a fruitful marriage, but also as a well-bred person. In other words, what is central to a fruitful marriage is not so much the quantity as the quality of the fruits, or, to quote Thomas Aquinas, 'Procreating does not only imply begetting children, but also raising them.' Indeed, Ripa's commentary on his personification of fertility refers to many as well as good, or virtuous, children.²⁷

Educational metaphors of flowers and animals encompass even more variants. The portrait of six-year-old Michiel Pompe van Slingelandt shows another variation of the Lycurgus parable, namely a trained hound in action (fig. 67). The boy, dressed in a historicizing fancy costume, is shown with the prestigious attributes of falconry. He is accompanied by a spaniel, specially trained to retrieve the falcon's quarry, and he draws our attention to the dog by pointing at it meaningfully.²⁸ The bridled horse is another case in point (fig. 68). This animal also occurs in Plutarch's treatise: 'What horses if they are well broken in when young do not become obedient to their riders, whereas if they are left unbroken they turn out stubborn and restive? Why wonder at other instances, seeing as we do that many of the wildest animals are made tame and used to their labours.'²⁹ Less wild, but nevertheless appropriate, are pets such as the many sorts of tame or trained birds, or toy animals, which are sometimes attached to a string. The unicorn, like the parrot, is less common in children's portraits (figs. 69-72).



64. Emblem from: Otto van Veen, *Quinti Horati Flacci emblemata*, Antwerp 1607.



VI. Caesar Bovetius van Everdingen,
Lycurgus showing the results of education, signed.
Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum.



65. Jan Albertsz. Rotius, *Portrait of a young girl with fruit and a thistle*. Location unknown.



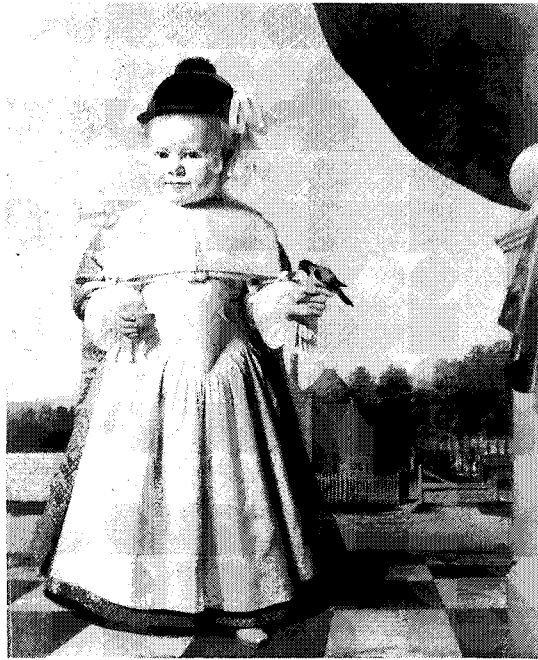
66. Adriaen Hanneman, *William III (1650-1702), prince of Orange, as a child*, signed and dated 1654. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



67. J.G. Cuyp, *Michiel Pompe van Slingelandt*, signed and dated 1649. Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum.



68. Dutch School, *Portrait of a young boy with a horse*. Location unknown.



69. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Albert and Nicolaas Rubens*. Vaduz, Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie.

70. Caesar van Everdingen, *Boy, aged two, holding an apple and a bird*, signed and dated 1664. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



71. Cornelis de Vos, *Portrait of two children*.
Location unknown.

72. Attributed to A. Cuyp, *Portrait of a child
with a squirrel*. Location unknown.

Such accessories, however, have fairly general meanings, and cannot be related to particular aspects of education. Sexuality, on the other hand, is an aspect of upbringing that is sometimes referred to specifically. It is visualized through the bridle metaphor in Plutarch's admonition to parents and teachers not to loosen the reins when the child is growing up. It is of the utmost importance, Plutarch argues, 'to bridle the vicious lusts of children with great care and under close guidance, as their youth makes them highly susceptible to stimuli and easily inclined to indulge in all sorts of carnal desires. Hence they need a sharp curb.'³⁰ The bridle or rein was a common attribute of *Temperantia*, or Moderation.³¹ It occurs for example in the pseudo-emblematic coat of arms in Cats's *Vryster-Wapen* (the Spinster's Coat of Arms) preceding the chapter entitled *Vryster* (Spinster) in Cats's *Houwelick* (fig. 73). *Vryster-Wapen* upholds the ideal of chastity for unmarried women. 'Una via est' ('there is only one way') is inscribed on the coat of arms that contains a hand holding a bunch of grapes by the stem. The grapes symbolize the maiden's virginity; the stem represents marriage. The hand belongs to the man who may make a maid his own only through marriage. The metaphor reflects the notion of holding a bunch of grapes by the stem in order to prevent the fruit from staining. By analogy, an unmarried woman who is possessed outside marriage loses her virginity, thus 'staining' her social reputation. The bridle of the girl on the left, who personifies 'Sedicheit' (Modesty), according to the inscription, should be interpreted within the same sexual context.³² The bridle as a symbol of curbing sexuality also occurs in a series of children's portraits, in which a child with a stick or a whip, but more frequently with a bridle, is shown restraining a goat, which is traditionally associated with lust and wantonness (figs. 74-76).

The fact that especially boys are often depicted with bridle and goat may bear directly on the notion that women are by nature more moderate than men. Boys were consequently thought to need more discipline than girls, whom nature endowed with an innate sense of shame.³³ That girls were not entirely free of lust, however, is apparent from a girl's portrait by J.G. Cuyp (fig. 77), in which the bridling of carnal appetites is represented as a cat - the preeminent symbol of lust - which the girl holds back from the object of its desire, a fish. Cuyp contrasted this scene with a couple indulging in pastoral love play at the bottom of a garden.

Educational theory attached a high priority to learning to restrain the passions. Indeed, this was the cornerstone of education, according to a highly popular work entitled *Schat der gesontheydt* (Treasure of health). This seventeenth-century medical vademecum was written by the renowned Dordrecht physician Johan van Beverwyck in col-



73. *Spinster's coat of arms* from: Jacob Cats, *Houwelick*, Middelburg 1625.



74. J.G. Cuyp, *Portrait of a boy with a billy goat*.
Location unknown.



75. Attributed to J.G. Cuyp, *Portrait of four children with a billy goat*. Location unknown.

76. J.A. Rotius, *Portrait of a five-year-old boy with a billy goat*. Location unknown.



77. J.G. Cuyp, *Portrait of a four-year-old girl playing with a cat and a fish*, signed and dated 1647. Private collection.

laboration with his friend Jacob Cats. In the second part, which concerns the upbringing of children under seven, van Beverwyck emphasizes the importance of suppressing the child's nascent desires. In line with Aristotle, he maintains that physical development must be given priority to enable the appetitive element of the soul to function optimally, since only then can it be governed by reason. Human perfection, he concludes, can only be achieved through moderation of carnal appetite, as moderation is the instrument which subordinates passion to reason. In addition, according to van Beverwyck, it is through moderation that man becomes pious and blessed. His final conclusion stresses that passion needs to be restrained in childhood, if it is not to gain the upper hand through sheer force of habit.³⁴

Finally, I would like to return to the quality of simplicity, which, together with docility, is a prominent theme in the 'Maiden's Arms,' where it refers to the avoidance of evil in general. Simplicity is depicted in the print with her two attributes, the pigeon and the lamb, both of which symbolize innocence and virtue (fig. 53). For Ripa, too, the lamb personifies innocence, together with various attributes, such as the stream of water which symbolizes the purity of the human soul.³⁵ These attributes of innocence and simplicity are emphasized in a number of portraits. A typical example is a portrait from 1676 of a woman and her daughter by Nicolaes Maes, which incorporates both the lamb and the stream (fig. 78).³⁶ Jan Steen's well-known *Poultry yard*, which depicts a number of birds that were rare at the time,³⁷ also belongs to this iconographic tradition (fig. 79). The charming girl in pastoral dress, presumably Bernardina Margriet van Raesfelt, represents Innocence in the sumptuous surroundings of Oud-Teylingen castle. The only discordant elements here are the two grinning servants, one old, ugly, and reminiscent of Pantalone, the other a dwarf in rags.³⁸ They were not included, as has been suggested, to proclaim the client's alleged charity toward his ailing and deformed tenants.³⁹ Instead, their appearance marks them as personifications of evil in general - an interpretation based on contemporary ideas about the putative relationship between man's physical appearance and moral character. Thus Ripa personifies vice as a dwarf (fig. 80).⁴⁰ In other words, Steen's painting contrasts virtue and civilization on the one hand, with vice and coarseness on the other - a distinction reflecting class differences, and justifying the social hierarchy.

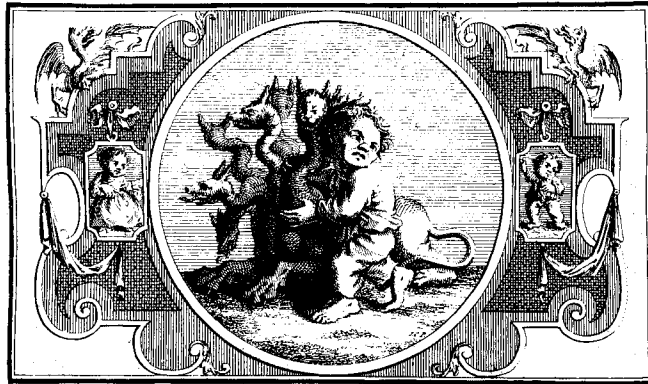
Another interesting exemplum of simplicity presented to children, or one which may be interpreted as such, is the lamb in a portrait of two children by J.G. Cuyp in 1638 (fig. 81). In this picture, the lamb is contrasted with pearls, rare shells, and coins lying on the ground. In



78. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a woman and her daughter*, signed. New York, Hoogsteder-Naumann Collection.



79. Jan Steen, *The poultry yard*, signed and dated 1660. The Hague, Mauritshuis.



80. *Vice* from: H.K. Poot, *Het groot natuur- en zedekundigh werelttoneel...*, Delft 1743.

81. J.G. Cuyp, *Portrait of two children with a lamb*, 1638. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

view of the pastoral quality of the representation, the riches and the lamb in this painting were recently interpreted as denoting town and country respectively.⁴¹ Despite the sound arguments adduced to support this reading, I would like to suggest an alternative. I think it is not so much a highly specific variant of the town-country topos, but a visualization of the concept that virtue, being immortal, is preferable to transient worldly goods. This concept, which Plutarch related to education, was echoed by all the moralist writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴²

The accessories associated with children in many portraits and genre paintings often correspond with or extend the metaphors in contemporary educational literature, serving to illustrate and clarify the theory underlying the nature-training-practice triad. Hence, they are tacit references to an educational ideal, which is almost never made explicit in the paintings themselves. To us, therefore, this ideal remains relatively abstract. In the seventeenth century, however, it was undoubtedly perceived in concrete terms. A remarkable painting in this respect is Pieter Saenredam's *Interior of the Buurkerk at Utrecht* (fig. 82). In the foreground are two boys, one of whom is scrawling on a wall of the church, and the other raising his finger in order to make a dog sit up on its hind legs. The drawing on the right wall represents the Four Sons of Aymon on their horse Bayard, a legend based on a thirteenth-century *chanson de geste*, which was immensely popular in almost all of Europe well into the eighteenth century. Several Dutch versions were published in the seventeenth century. The story revolves around the magical, all-powerful horse Bayard, which was broken in by Reinhout, one of the four brothers, at the risk of his own life.⁴³ This, too, is a version of Plutarch's metaphor of the broken-in horses. Bayard might serve as an outstanding exemplum of the force of wild, unrestrained nature checked through human intervention. The representation of this particular horse should be related to the genre scene with the dog. Together, these scenes are related to Moses and the tables of the Law, which Saenredam depicted in a niche above the boys' heads.⁴⁴ These elements together embody the main aspect of the educational ideal, or *pietas*. Petrus Wittewrongel, an exponent of the 'Nadere Reformatie,' observed that a great number of Protestants generally teach their children good manners, useful knowledge, and practical skills, but fail to imbue them with a proper sense of piety, while a moral code alone does not constitute a good education. Though morality enables man to transcend his animal nature, it does not necessarily make him a Christian, which implies subscribing not only to the moral virtues and duties of the second table of God's Law, but



82. Pieter Saenredam, *Interior of the Buurkerk at Utrecht*, signed and dated 1644. London, National Gallery.

also to the religious virtues and duties of the first. A Christian education therefore transcends a pagan upbringing only insofar as it incorporates the contents of both tables, and teaches a child to put their teachings into practice.⁴⁵

If we wish to uncover deeper layers of meaning in the paintings discussed here, we need to reconstruct an educational ideal in its various guises. This, however, is essentially the task of the educational rather than the art historian, who can only play a minor part. Besides, the significance of these accessories should not be overestimated. The emphasis which iconology tends to place on them suggests that they constitute the main aspect of the painting. To an increasing extent accessories have been used as a point of departure from which to examine a cultural and historical setting. This has resulted in an exaggerated view of the painter's invention with respect to the content of his work.⁴⁶ At the time, however, accessories were considered as being of secondary importance, and were used, in the words of the theorist van Hoogstraeten, to decorate 'een eenzaam stuk' ('a solitary piece'), or, as de Lairese wrote later, to fill 'een al te eenig of te enkel beeld' ('a representation too bare or unvaried').⁴⁷ Formal considerations therefore played a substantial role in the artist's decision to include accessories as a means of enlivening a portrait. Their meaning was of minor importance, and usually of a fairly general nature. For the average children's portrait, the artist could make a random selection from an extensive repertoire of well-known educational metaphors. This is exemplified by Farret's group portrait of the Meulenaer children, which the artist decorated with fruit, a parrot, a bridled goat, a whip, and a stream (fig. 83).

Finally, a considerable number of seventeenth-century children's portraits reflect the clients' concern with the education of their children. As parents, they were responsible for their education and answerable for any shortcomings. This is evident, for example, in the portrait by Nicolaus Knüpfer, which shows the family enacting the well-known proverb 'children chirrup as their elders sing,' which we can infer from the words in the song book held by the father (fig. 84). In his influential *Houwelick*, Cats repeatedly draws attention to the heavy responsibility inherent in educating children. Referring to authorities such as Plutarch, Erasmus, and the Church Father Hieronymus, Cats goes so far as to state that education starts at conception and during pregnancy, in other words, before birth.⁴⁸ Consequently, parents could even be held responsible for the very nature of the child. And although he acknowledges the existence of what may be described as a child's intrinsic character, his entire work affirms his belief in the overriding importance of education.⁴⁹ The



83. C. Farret, *Portrait of Aletta Henrietta, Hendrik, and Willem Meulenaer*, signed and dated 1720.
Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum.



84. Nicolaus Knüpfer, *Group portrait of a family*, signed. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.

more subtle problems arising from the impact of social background and education and their effects on inherited character traits were unknown to Cats and his contemporaries; their views on what education could or could not achieve were quite different from our own.⁵⁰ This seventeenth-century concept of the complete malleability of a child's behavior formed the matrix for an artistic output whose implications often appear to us so behavioristic.

II

Caesar van Everdingen's Lycurgus

Although the Lycurgus parable was highly popular in literature, it was not a common theme in painting. Indeed, as was pointed out earlier, Caesar van Everdingen's *Lycurgus* is the only known example (plate VI).⁵¹ Van Everdingen shows the moment when Lycurgus has released his dogs, while amazed onlookers are wondering why he should have done so. We in turn may wonder what inspired the corporation of Alkmaar to commission this unique picture. A record of payment from 1662 gives us a clue. It mentions the commission as well as the payment of three hundred guilders to van Everdingen 'for the execution of the overmantel painting of Lycurgus in the prince's chamber.'⁵² This room, which is occasionally referred to as the 'Prince Zael' (Prince's Hall) or 'Hof van zijn Excellentie' (His Excellency's Court), had been added on to the rear of the town hall in 1593-95 as a reception room for the stadholders of Orange.⁵³ The document suggests that the room was altered in 1656, and subsequently enriched with the above-mentioned overmantel painting. As was observed earlier, the extension had certainly been built by 1662, and, quite possibly, as early as 1661.⁵⁴ What is baffling at first, however, is that it happened in a stadholderless era. Nevertheless we will see that it was precisely the political predicament in which the House of Orange found itself that indirectly occasioned the commission of the painting.

The House of Orange was in a precarious position after the death of William II in 1650. Particularly uncertain was the position of the young Prince William III, whose education and constitutional future became the subject of a political tug of war.⁵⁵ The Act of Seclusion of 1654 debarred members of the House of Orange from any political or military office, including that of stadholder. Even after the Act was repealed in 1666 it would take a considerable time before the House of Orange managed to regain power. The cause of all this friction lay

primarily in the alliance between the Houses of Stuart and Orange through the marriage between Mary Stuart and William II in 1641.

A disagreement between Mary Stuart and her mother-in-law, the elderly Princess Amalia van Solms, started a struggle for guardianship when Prince William III was born, eight days after the death of William II. Eventually, after much bickering, Mary accepted her mother-in-law and the elector of Brandenburg as joint guardians.

Mary's grudge against the Dutch caused her to bring up her son in an entirely English fashion; William III spent the first years of his life in an almost exclusively English environment. Before long, however, Amalia van Solms realized that this upbringing would not make William acceptable to the collective States. In 1656 she managed to get a Dutch Reformed minister appointed as tutor of the five-year-old child. In 1658 the Leiden magistrate requested Mary to send William to Leiden to study. However, even his presence in Leiden failed to free him from English influence.

The alliance between Stuart and Orange that had existed since 1641 concerned Johan de Witt; after the Restoration in England, which also meant the end of the Act of Seclusion, de Witt feared that the House of Orange would at one time or another become a vassal of the Stuarts. De Witt attempted to avert this threat in two different ways. On the one hand, he tried to release Orange from Stuart influence, and on the other he tried to debar Orange from any position of power. De Witt acknowledged that some arrangement had to be made with respect to the position of the prince, but vehemently opposed the designation of the latter to captain-general. He nevertheless gave the princess and her brother Charles II of England some hopes with regard to the military office, albeit without the office of stadholder. The best solution, according to de Witt, was that Holland for the time being should take care of, and pay for, the education of the prince. Mary, however, persisted in her demand for designation, but to a majority of the States this was out of the question. In this way, on September 25, 1660, the Resolution of Holland came into being, which determined that Holland should take care of the education, and that the prince should be educated 'as a worthy Asset and an instrument of great hope for this Country in the true Reformed Faith in all Princely Virtues, and in the knowledge of the Laws, Customs, and manners of this Country, in order that he may follow in the footsteps of his Ancestors and Relatives, and become [like them] capable of being invested with the High Offices and duties by order of the aforesaid States of Holland and West-Frisia.'⁵⁶

Despite her disappointment, Mary complied. It is assumed that she probably did so since the resolution entailed an attractive

annuity, which served to implement the education and support the financial resources of the prince. At the end of September, when she was about to leave for England, Mary took a final decision with respect to her son's education. She requested the States to carry out their resolution, and to appoint a committee from their own number to supervise the prince's education. The Grand Pensionary, the Knighthood, and the representatives of the cities of Dordrecht, Amsterdam, and Alkmaar collectively constituted the educational committee.

Mary's sudden death on January 3, 1661 rekindled the dispute over the boy's guardianship and education, as Mary's will made no mention of the States of Holland, despite the fact that she had entrusted them with the guardianship of her child, or - in the words of de Witt - 'had transferred her child during her lifetime [to them] as supreme guardians.'⁵⁷ A tug of war ensued between the prince's next of kin and the States, who regarded themselves as supreme guardians. Unbeknown to the States, the former signed a new treaty, appointing Amalia van Solms as supervisor on behalf of the next of kin. In addition, this treaty stipulated that the other provinces, too, should have access to the 'new style' educational committee. The States, however, were afraid 'to take the blame for a bad education and to be responsible for the harmful, indeed fatal consequences for this Country as a result of a bad education and the alienation of His Excellency from this Country.'⁵⁸ On September 30, 1661, Holland, and consequently also Alkmaar, relinquished all cares and responsibilities for the young prince, and annulled any resolution passed with respect to his upbringing. The education itself had barely started. The members of the committee had paid hardly any visits to Leiden, and it is unlikely therefore that the education of the prince would have been affected at this stage. As a result, for the time being, William III was placed completely in the care of his grandmother Amalia van Solms.

Within this political context the choice of the Lycurgus theme as a decoration for the prince's chamber starts to become comprehensible, since the corporation of Alkmaar, which was by no means anti-Orangist, was represented in the educational committee, and was therefore partly responsible for the prince's education.⁵⁹ The council resolutions from September 20, 1660 until September 27, 1661 invariably refer to this 'educatie' and the 'begroting van de somme tot educatie' ('estimation of the educational budget').⁶⁰ The Alkmaar council must have commissioned van Everdingen before the plans were abandoned - a plausible assumption given the fact that the artist was paid in 1662. If any single theme was to play a part in the decoration of the prince's chamber, it would have been the importance of

education, and a more appropriate subject than the depiction of the Lycurgus parable was scarcely imaginable.

In addition we find a historical parallel which, in accordance with the typological study of history current at the time, helped justify the council's choice of the motif. This parallel emerged through a reading of another popular treatise by Plutarch describing the life of Lycurgus.

After the death of Lycurgus's father, it was his eldest son, Polydectus, who came to the throne. When the latter died shortly afterward, Lycurgus himself became king and ruled over Sparta until Polydectus's wife appeared to be pregnant. When he learned about this, Lycurgus was convinced that if this child would be a boy, it would be entitled to the kingship. Therefore, when she gave birth to a boy, Lycurgus adopted the child and became its guardian.⁶¹

The parallel is that, like Polydectus's wife, Mary Stuart was a pregnant widow. It is highly likely that the Alkmaar council, entrusted with the guardianship and education of the prince, may - like the orphans' wardens in Amsterdam - have drawn an analogy between themselves and Lycurgus as a guardian and pedagogue.⁶² Moreover, if they were supporters of the House of Orange, they may have regarded William III as a worthy successor to his father, in the same way that Lycurgus had considered the young Charilaüs as the sole and rightful successor to Polydectus.

What may also have determined the choice of the theme of Lycurgus was that this classical story had been included earlier in 1607 as the twenty-fifth emblem under the motto 'Educationis et consuetudinis typus' ('An image of education and custom') in Otto van Veen's *Emblemata Horatiana*, an emblem book conceived as a mirror of princes (fig. 85).⁶³ The best-known edition of this book was produced by Marin Le Roy de Gomberville in 1646. He dedicated the book to Anne of Austria, Queen Mother of France, who had been the regent of Louis XIV since the death of Louis XIII in 1643. The dedication expresses the author's hope that the book would be useful to the education of the young Prince Louis.⁶⁴ In this French edition, incidentally, the Lycurgus emblem has been moved from the twenty-fifth to the second position. Given that it represents the basic principle that behavior can be taught, and since the edition was intended as an educational aid, the emblem had to occupy a place - together with the first emblem under the motto 'Naturam Minerva perfecit' (fig. 64) - at the beginning of this educational mirror. It is possible, but not strictly necessary, that this emblem, in one of the most widely disseminated books of its kind, may have inspired the Alkmaar council to choose the theme for the decoration program of the prince's chamber. They possibly hoped that the 'quade educatie,'



85. Emblem from: Otto van Veen, *Quinti Horati Flacci emblemata*, Antwerp 1607

or poor education, which the young prince had been receiving, might improve under the tutelage of his mother - a hope which they, as well as the States of Holland, were able to draw from the Lycurgus parable.

Notes

Translated from the Dutch by Wim Honders. This essay is based on my article 'Beelden van "leersucht" en tucht. Opvoedingsmetaforen in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 33 (1983) pp. 49-74, and my lecture 'Discipline for innocence. Metaphors for education in Dutch seventeenth-century painting,' delivered at the symposium 'Images of the world. Dutch genre painting in its historical context' at the London Royal Academy of Arts, November 9-10, 1984 (still in print).

1. For the inscriptions see the exhibition catalogues 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, *Theodor van Thulden 1606-1669*, 's-Hertogenbosch 1970, p. 10, and *Zeven in één klap*, 's-Hertogenbosch 1978, p. 48. The inscriptions on the painting read as follows: on the left on the pedestal, 'Mors Amor est, Foetorq(ue) Caro, / sunt Vina Venena: / Fallitis Ignaros, Bacche, / Cupido, Venus.' and on the right on the sarcophagus, 'Tutius hoc Iter est, Vitaeq(ue). / Perennius Origo: / Pervia sunt Animae, Monstr(?) / Sepulchra, Neces.' For the exact dating based on genealogical considerations, I am indebted to Hanneke Olyslager.

2. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands...*, ed. D.P. Pers, Amsterdam 1644, pp. 211-12, 'Het Roer bediet de sorge en bestieringe die een Vaeder behoort te hebben over sijne kinderen, op datse in de Zee van de kindsche dertelheden, van den wegh der Deughde niet soudén af wijcken, waer in men haer met alle vlijt en naerstigheyt behoort te stieren.' The fact that Ripa only mentions the father does not imply that the mother plays no role

here. Whereas the wife-husband relationship may entail male domination, man and wife were regarded as equals in relation to their children. For this aspect see, e.g., Petrus Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia christiana ofte christelijke huysboudinge*, Amsterdam 1661³, vol. 2, p. 164. For Wittewrongel see L.F. Groenendijk's valuable study, *De nadere reformatie van het gezin. De visie van Petrus Wittewrongel op de christelijke huishouding*, Dordrecht 1984.

3. For the Dutch editions see A. Geerebaert, *Lijst van de gedrukte Nederlandsche vertalingen der oude Grieksche en Latijnsche schrijvers*, Gent 1924, p. 68. For other translations see Plutarch, *Moralia*, with an English translation by Frank Cole Babbitt (The Loeb Classical Library) vol. 1, pp. XXVIII-XXXI. I made use of the translations by R.T., *Eenighe morale of zedige wercken van Plutarchus*, nieuwelycks vertaelt..., Amsterdam 1634, henceforth referred to as Plutarch 1634; Samuel de Swaef, *Tractaet Plutarchi, van de opvoedinghe der kinderen*, nu eerst uyt het Françoische int Nederduytsche vertaelt, Middelburg 1619, henceforth referred to as Plutarch 1619; and the edition of *De liberis educandis* in

The Loeb Classical Library (op. cit.), hereafter referred to as Plutarch.

4. For this triad see Allan Ellenius, *De arte pingendi. Latin art literature in seventeenth-century Sweden and its international background*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1960, p. 73; J.A. Emmens, 'Natuur onderwijs en oefening. Bij een drieluik van Gerrit Dou,' *Album discipulorum aangeboden aan J.G. van Gelder*, Utrecht 1963, pp. 125-63; Jochen Becker, 'Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts. Lucas de Heere,' *Simiolus* 6 (1972-73), p. 122, and his notes 54, 55, and 58. Elucidating in this respect is Jean Claude Margolin's discussion of the triad in Erasmus in his article 'Pédagogie et philosophie dans le "De pueris instituendis" d'Erasmus,' *Paedagogica Historica* 4 (1964), pp. 370-91.

5. Plutarch, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 12-13.

6. The parable is referred to in a wide range of works, particularly in relation to the learning process. Cf., e.g., Jacob Cats, *Proteus of sinne- en minnebeelden*, Middelburg 1618, p. 13; *De deugdelijke vrouw*, trans. I.H. Glazemaker, Amsterdam 1643, p. 276; Samuel van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderconst...*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 15; *De leermeester der zeden...*, Amsterdam (s.a., 4th edition), p. 9; Petrus Wittewrongel, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 1, p. 182; Claas Bruin, *De lustplaats Soelen*, Amsterdam 1723, pp. 95-96.

7. The earliest representation of Lycurgus known to me dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is a representation in stained glass which used to form part of the decoration of the Hof van Busleyden at Mechlin (cf. H. de Vocht, *Jerome de Busleyden founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue. His life and writings*, Turnhout 1950, pp. 59 and 247).

8. The Weenix at The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Conn., should be mentioned here. It repeats the trained dog in the painting at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 6, kindly brought to my attention by Peter Sutton), now placed beneath Giovanni da Bologna's *Rape of the Sabine Women* to highlight the contrast between wild and tamed nature, or passion and control.

9. Referred to here is a contribution by his friend, the diplomat Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels, dating from 1584. It takes up

fols. 56v and 57r of the album in the collection of the Library of Pembroke College in Cambridge (Pembroke MS. 2.113). For this album see *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, facsimile edition annotated and translated into French by Jean Puray, Amsterdam 1969.

10. *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu a provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repraesentata...*, Antwerp 1640. The Dutch translation appeared under the title *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuw der Societeyt Iesu voor ooghen gestelt door de Duyts-Nederlantsche provincie der selver Societeyt*, Antwerp 1640. The emblem in question is on pp. 304-05 of this edition. The following fragment is from the poem accompanying the emblem:

Ick heb dickmael met mijn ooghen
Neerstelijck hier op ghelet,
Hoe licht dat het is om booghen
'tGheen' van ionghs af wordt gheset.
Wild' u boomen niet doen hellen,
Rechtse van haer eerste iaer:
Want gh'en sultse niet herstellen
Komdy langhen tijdt daer naer.
Al dat iongh is, laet hem dwinghen,
Soo ghy niet te langh en wacht:
Ionghe wiskens kan men wringhen
Oock met d'alderminste kracht:
Rechten kan men teere planten,
D'oude booghen al te noy;
Loopen sy eens nae de kanten,
'tCamelot dat houdt sijn ploy.
By kleyn boomkens steltmen staken,
Schoon het dunckt de iongheyt pijn;
Datmen tot een reep wilt maken
Dat moet vroegh ghebooghen zijn.

11. This is exemplified by *Plutarchi Gulden-Boeck* (see Plutarch 1634, op. cit. [note 3], pp. 179-80): 'Een goede aerde by gebrek van bouwinge / wordt onvruchtbaer / en hoe beter die uyt haer selven is (missende goede haveninge) hoe schadelijcker die is: in't tegendeel sult ghy sien / dat een harde / wrede / en steenachtige aerde / wel gebouwt zijnde / voort sal brenghen veel schoone en goede vruchten. Wat bomen zijnder die niet krom en groeyen / of niet wilt en onvruchtbaer worden / wanneer men gheen achtingh daer op en heeft / in 't tegendeel sullen sy schoon en vruchtbaer

worden / als men 't ooge daer op heeft / en
alsulcke vlijt aanwent als daer tõe vereyscht
wort. Wat lichaem is so sterck en vast van leden
/ dat door ledigheydt / en weelde sijn kracht
niet soude verliesen / ende in een quade
ghestalte komen te vervallen. En wie soude de
nature so kranck en zwack hebben / die niet
door een geduerighe oeffeninghe en arbeydt de
selve eyndelijck soude komen te verstercken.
De peerden wanneer die van jonghs af / getemt
en gheleert worden / werden bequaem om door
de menschen gebruyckt ende bereden te
worden: Maer wanneer men die ongetemt laet
opwassen / soo worden sy wreedt ende wildt /
sonder datmen eenige nuttelijcke dienst van
haer kan trecken. Hierom een heeftmen sich so
seer niet te verwonderen / aengesien men door
sorge en neerstigheydt / de wildste en wreedste
dieren kan temmen / [...].'

12. Jacob Cats, *Alle de wercken, zoo oude als
nieuwe, van de heer Jacob Cats, Ridder, oudt raedt-
pensionaris van Hollandt... vermeerderd met des
auteurs tachtigjarigh leven, en bedenckingen
op Zorgvliet*, Amsterdam 1665, *Houwelick*,
'Maeghde- Wapen,' pp. 5-6.

The dog is also in the frontispiece of *Houwelick*.

13. For a detailed treatment of the *desco* see
Helmut Wohl, *The paintings of Domenico
Veneziano ca. 1410-1440. A study in Florentine art
of the early Renaissance*, Oxford 1980, pp. 144-48.
The author, however, fails to interpret the
scene on the back of the *desco*.

In Italy, Plutarch's short treatise was translated
into Latin as early as 1410 by the humanist
Guarino Veronese, the educator of Lionello
d'Este (cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome 1935-38,
s.v. Plutarco).

A dog in the begging posture also occurs in a
miniature on fol. 13v of *Maximilian Sforza's
Schoolbook*, Milan, Bibliotheca Trivulziana, cod.
2167 (kindly brought to my attention by Jeroen
Stumpel).

14. In this context I would like to draw
attention to an engraving by Jan Saenredam
after Hendrik Goltzius, depicting parental care
at the beginning of the day. It shows a girl and
boy about to receive the meal which their
mother has prepared. While the girl has joined
her hands in prayer, and the boy has respect-
fully taken off his hat, their little dog has assumed
the begging posture. For this print see F.W.H.

Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings
and woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, Amsterdam 1980,
vol. 33, Jan Saenredam, nr. 97.

15. Cats, op. cit. (note 12), *Sinne- en minne-
beelden*, pp. 24-25. The poem reads:

Indien de Papegay waer in het wout gebleven,
Sy hadde daer geleyt een woest en beestigh
leven?

Maer nu zy door bedwang by menschen is
geleert

Soo komt'et datse spreeckt, en in het hof
verkeert.

Is yemant oyt gesint om eere na te jagen,
Hy moet van eersten af, hy moet gewilligh
dragen

Al wat tucht gebiet. Bedwang ontrent de
jeught

Wort eere met'er tijdt, en niet als enckel
vreught.

16. Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 283-84,
Docilita. Leersaembeyt. Johan van Beverwyck,
Schat der gesontheydt, Dordrecht 1640-42, vol. 2,
pp. 656-59. In this volume the author enlarges
on the subject of education, particularly with
respect to the physical development of the
child. Wittewrongel, too, deals extensively with
this. He advises making an early start with
education, particularly religious instruction,
arguing that God delights in a pious child; that
children are malleable; that they do not easily
forget what they learn in early childhood; and
that life is but a short span in which to achieve
Christian perfection. Therefore, according to
Wittewrongel, learning as well as play is impor-
tant in childhood (cf. Groenendijk, op. cit.
[note 2], pp. 150-52; also cf. Plutarch 1619, op.
cit. [note 3], p. B).

17. Cats, op. cit. (note 12), *Spiegel van den
ouden en nieuwen tijdt*, pp. 1-7, 150-52.

18. Cats, op. cit. (note 12), *Sinne- en minne-
beelden*, pp. 10-11. The poem reads:

De letters diemen plagh te snyden in de linden
En zijn van eersten aen niet in het hout te
vinden,

Maer kom je naderhandt ontrent den groenen
bast,

Soo blijckt'et dat het schrift geduerigh grooter
wast.

Het kint, indien het siet eens anders quade
 streken,
 Ontfanght' in sijn gemoet de gronden van
 gebreken.
 Wat quaet is, kankert in: ghy leyd dan in de
 jeught.
 Geen voncken tot de lust, maer sporen tot de
 deught.

19. Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 394, *Educatione*.
Opvoedinge: '[...] om te betoonen dat sich de
 Opvoedinge niet alleene uytstrekt om goede
 konsten en wetenschappen te leeren, maer oock
 totte de goede zeden en manieren, om met vlijt
 te versorgen, dat die plante, dat is de Ieughd,
 gerecht, dat is geschickt werde: diewelcke
 wesende als een ongehavende en onbearbeyde
 aerde, soo brenghetse soo veel te meer distelen
 en doornen voort, alsse vetter en vochtiger is.
 Waer over *Galenus* seght, de opvoedinge der
 kinderen is gelijk de bouwinge en heeginge,
 die wy in de planten gebruycken.'

20. Gerard de Lairese, *Groot schilderboek...*,
 Amsterdam 1714, vol. 2, p. 74.

21. For the peacock as an attribute of Vanity
 see, e.g., Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 207, *Superbia*.
Hovaerdye, and J. J. M. Timmers, *Symboliek en
 iconographie der christelijke kunst*, Roermond and
 Maaseik 1947, s.v. peacock.

For the symbol of vanity in girls' portraits see
 Gerard de Lairese, op. cit. (note 20), vol. 2, pp.
 30-35, *Van de toepassing der Voorwerpen by de
 Afbeeldingen der Persoonen van verschillende
 staaten* (p. 35), 'By een' jonge en eerbaare
 Dochter voegt wel die van de Zuiverheid, een
 borduurraam, en de gereedschappen daar toe,
 nevens zinnebeelden daar op slaande; waaron-
 der die van de Bezigheid, en verfoeijing der
 ledigheid, Hovaardy, en Gulzigheid een
 voornaame eigenschap hebben.'

For lust and vanity in connection with educa-
 tion see Groenendijk, op. cit. (note 2), p. 139,
 and note 34 which refers to B. Wallenkamp,
*Inleydinghe in Zions-scholen. Dat is, naerder onder-
 wijsinghe hoe dat alle sonen ende dochteren in de
 kennisse ende vreesse des Heeren behooren opgevoedt
 te werden ende hoe deselve haer in leven ende
 wandel christelick als kinderen Godts hebben te
 verbouden*, Utrecht 1661, and Thomas Brooks,
*Gouden' appelen voor iongb-mans ende ionge-
 dochters, als ook eene kroone der heerlyckheyte voor*

*oude-mannen ende oude-vrouwen. Ofte de geluksa-
 ligheyt van by tijts goet te zijn, ende de eere van een
 oudt discipel te wesen*, trans. D. Montanus,
 Utrecht 1667.

The rose in the portrait by Ludolf de Jongh
 and the carnation picked by the girl in the
 painting by Rotius refer to the transience of
 youth and of life in general.

22. Otto van Veen, *Quinti Horati Flacci
 emblemata, imaginibus in aes incisus, notisque
 illustrata, studio Othonis Vaeni Batavolugdunensis*,
 Antwerp 1607, p. 13. For an extensive discussion
 of this emblem see Inemie Gerards-Nelissen,
 'Otto van Veen's Emblemata Horatiana,'
Simiolus 5 (1971), pp. 33-34.

23. D.P. Snoep mentioned the possibility of
 Minerva as 'Armipotens bellipraeses Tritonia
 virgo,' see D.P. Snoep, 'Het Trippenhuys, zijn
 decoraties en inrichting,' in R. Meischke and
 H.E. Reeser eds., *Het Trippenhuys te Amsterdam*,
 Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York 1983,
 p. 206.

For the identification of the figures see S.A.C.
 Dudok van Heel, 'Het maecenaat Trip. Op-
 drachten aan Ferdinand Bol en Rembrandt van
 Rijn,' *De Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 31
 (1979), pp. 22-23. For Tritonia as a goddess of
 war see J.B. Bedaux and A. van Gool,
 'Breughel's birthyear. Motive of an ars/natura
 transmutation,' *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 145-46.

24. When the peacock is interpreted as the
 attribute of Juno, a suggestion made by Albert
 Blankert (cf. his *Ferdinand Bol. Rembrandt's
 pupil*, Doornspijk 1982, p. 107, nr. 43), the inter-
 pretation remains valid. Karel van Mander
 writes in his *Witleggingh op den Metamorphosis
 Pub. Ovidij Nasonis*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 42v: 'Dat
 sy [Minerva] 'uyt de(n) Herssenen van Iuppiter
 gheboren is / wijst aen / dat t'verstandt light in
 de herssenen / en dat de rechte wijsheyt comt
 van Godt / en niet beneden van den aerdsche
 dinghen / waer by Juno verstaen word.' Minerva
 therefore symbolizes true wisdom,
 while Juno is associated with worldly affairs
 from which this truth is absent. Blankert
 eventually opts for the peacock as a symbol of
 immortality, an interpretation which, in my
 view, does not seem very likely. What certainly
 should be pointed out here is another portrait
 by Bol where Minerva is depicted as a teacher,
 this time of three children (Blankert, op. cit. pp.

106-07, nr. 42). The smallest child is portrayed with a tame goldfinch. According to Blankert, this signifies that the child is still too young to learn, an interpretation which I do not share. Minerva is frequently shown in the role of teacher; cf., e.g., *The education of Mary de Medici* from the Medici-cycle in the Louvre (cf. H. von Heintze and H. Jager, 'Athena-Minerva. Ihr Bild im Wandel der Zeiten,' *Jahrbuch der Max-Planck Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften* 1 [1961], pp. 63, 66-67), and *The portrait of Alexander Farnese embraced by Minerva* from the Museo Nazionale in Naples.

25. An admonition from the *Houwelick*, which Cats ably couched in the metaphor of tending crops, may further substantiate this image (Cats, op. cit. [note 12], *Houwelick*, 'Moeder,' p. 171):

Hooft, moeder, hooft u les; 't is niet genoegh
te baren,
Het kint is u beslagh tot aen de seven jaren;
Het kriecken van den dagh, sijn jeught, en
eerste gront
Bestaet in u beleyt, en hanght aen uwen mont:
Ghy moet het rouwe lant als tot de vrucht
bereyden,
Bespitten, open doen, met greppen onde-
scheyden,
Het onkruyt roeyen uit, oock van den eersten
dagh,
Om dat u weerde man daer namaels zaeyen
magh.
Wat is 'er menigh wijf dat niet en plagh te
passen
Op dit gewichtigh stuck, maer laet de kinders
wassen
Woest, dertel, quastigh, rauw, vol bochten,
onbesnoeyt,
Gelijck het wilde rijs in dichte bossen groeyt!
Wat is 'er menigh wijf dat liever heeft te
praten,
Die liever heeft te gaen laveyen achter straten,
Als met een stillen geest haer kint te wijsen aen
Wat nu, wat naderhandt is nut te sijn
gedaen!
Wat is 'er menigh man, die met de gantsche
sinnen,
Die met den lijve voelt, om goet te mogen
winnen,
En laet sijn weerde kint, sijn alderbeste schat,

Onvruchtbaer henen gaen, als ick en weet niet
wat!

Daer zijnder in het lant die honden leeren
springen,
Die quackels leeren staen, die vincken leeren
zingen;
En laten onder dies haer bloet, haer eygen
vrucht,
En sonder goede leer en buyten alle tucht:

For the thistle in connection with poor education see Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 394; *Educatione. Opvoedinge* (for Ripa's text cf. note 19). For the thistle also see Ripa, p. 371, *Ignoranza. Onwetentheydt*, with the counterpart of Education, i.e., Ignorance, whose attribute is a field of thistles and thorns.

26. The thistles in this portrait may also refer to the Stuarts's country of origin, Scotland, whose national flower is the thistle.

27. Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 579-81, *Fecondita. Vruchtbaerbeyt*. See, in this respect, 'Fruit and fertility. Fruit symbolism in Netherlandish portraiture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' p. 103.

28. For this painting see the exhibition catalogue *Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie, schilders te Dordrecht*, Dordrecht 1977, pp. 22-23. For the identification of the boy, a son of Mathijs Pompe van Slingelandt, baron of Slingelandt and lord of Dordsmonde, Carnisse, and Waaldorp, see Alma P.E. Kuiper-Ruempol and Egbert J. Wolleswinkel, 'De identificatie van J.G. Cuyp's "Jongen met valk" als Michiel Pompe van Slingelandt,' *Bulletin van het Dordrechts Museum* 7, nr. 3 (1982).

29. Plutarch, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 10-11. See also note 11, and Johan van Beverwyck, op. cit. (note 16), vol. 2, p. 657, 'Even gelijck de paerden (seyt Plutarchus op de gemelte plaets) indiense niet van jonghs op getemt, ende wel geleert en werden, altijs hart in de mont blijven, ende nae den toom niet en luysteren: soo gaet het oock met de kinderen, indien men haer den vollen toom geeft, ende in't wilt laet op-wassen.'

30. Plutarch 1634, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 206-07: '[...] daer ist oorbaerlijck datmen met groote sorghvuldigheyt en toesicht breydele de oneerlyke begeerlijkheden / want de stant des ouderdoms / kan gemeenlijck haer qualijck wachten /

is seer kittelachtigh / en licht ghebracht tot gebruyck van alle wellusten / sulcx datse van node hebben een sterken toom. En die haer selven niet trachten te rug te houden / of waer en nemen / geven haer selve(n) den toom geheel los tot alle boosheyt / soo dat de voorsichtige Ouders in dien stant van Ouderdom / insonderheydt hebben te letten op haere jongelinghen / om die in den toom te houden / aher onderwijsende / dreygende en biddende / haer vertoonende / aenradende en voor oogen stellende den onderganck van de gene die geleefd hebben in alle ongebondentheydt.'

31. De Laireesse suggests as an appropriate decoration for a house of correction a representation of 'Educatio met het toom van een getemd dier, dat voor haar gaat, in de hand' (de Laireesse, op. cit. [note 20], vol. 2, Haarlem 1740, pp. 256-57, 'Hoe de Frontespiessen der Tempelen, Huizen, en Schouwplaatsen verciert behooren te worden.' Also cf. Karel van Mander, *Uutbeeldinge der figueren...*, Alkmaar 1604, fol. 134r, 'Men houdt den Breydel voor een teecken van maticheyt / oft zedicheyt / oft bedwinghlijckheyt.'

32. Jacob Cats, *Houwelick*: dat is de gansche gelegentheydt des echten staets, Middelburg 1625, 'Vryster,' p. [v].

33. Johan van Beverwyck, *Van de wtmenentheydt des vrouwelicken geslachts*, Dordrecht 1643², vol. 3, p. 16, 'Dat de Manieren van't Gemoet volgen op de Gematigheyt van het Lichaem, leert de genees-meester Galenus, ende wert van de Wijs-gerigen oock toegestaen, en(de) by ons is mede in't eerste bouck bewesen, dat het lichaam der Vrouwen beter gematight is, als van de Mans; wat wonder is't dan, dat sy oock met meerdere Deughden begaeft zijn [...]'; vol. 3, p. 110, 'Beyde, de Schaemte ende Eerbaerheyt zijn eygen; ende 't Vrouwelick geslacht by-na aen-geboren; als of de nature selve voorsichtelick daer voor gesorcht hadde'; vol. 3, pp. 115-16, '[...] soo moet men oock bekennen, dat sy in't lof van Eerbaerheyt ende Kuysheyt de mans verre overwinnen.'

34. Van Beverwyck, op. cit. (note 16), vol. 2, pp. 655-56: 'Aristoteles 7. polit. 15 wil hier in gegaen hebben nae de ordre, die de Nature hout in de telinege. Derhalven, gelijk in de selvige de Nature eerst voortbrenght 'tgene onvolmaeckter is, geschapen wert: alsoo oock

dewijle het lichaem gemaect is om 'tgevoelick, ende dat om het redelick, soo moet het lichaem eerst volmaackt wesen om sigh wel te hebben tot de ghevoelicke werckingen, ende die moeten mede volckomen zijn, op datese goede dienst ende ghehoorsaemheydt mogen bewijzen aende redelijcke. Daerom bestaet al het fundament vande menschelicke volmaectheyt in het matigen van de ghevoelicke begeerlickheydt. Want door die matigheyt wert de begeerte gebracht tot ghehoorsaemheyt van de reden. Ende de selfde maeckt de mensche vroom, ende geluck-saligh: alsoo hy alsdan niet onbehoorlicks en sal aanrechten. Derhalven moeten in de kindere ten eerste de passien bedwongen werden, die anders door ghewoonte de overhant nemen. Ende alsse daer toe vervallen zijn, salmense eerder breken als buygen.'

As van Beverwyck points out, his text draws on Aristotle, *The Politics*, VII, 15.

35. Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 367, *Innocenza. Onnoselbeyt, and Innocenza. onnoselbeyt, of Suyverbeyt*. See also, *ibid.*, p. 101, *Simplicita. Eenvoudigheyt, Slechtigheyt*, and p. 498, *Purita. Suyverbeyt, Onnooselbeyt*.

36. For this portrait, which also has a pendant, see *A selection of Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century paintings 1983*, catalogue by Willem Jan Hoogsteder and Otto Naumann, New York 1983, pp. 59-63.

37. This was kindly brought to my attention by Dr. H. Hegener of the Institute of Biohistory of the University of Utrecht.

38. Cat. *The Royal Cabinet of Paintings. Illustrated general catalogue*, Mauritshuis, The Hague 1977, p. 166, nr. 166. Jacoba Maria van Wassenaar, in addition to Bernardina, is still mentioned here as the sitter. For the identification of Bernardina as the girl in the picture see Lyckle de Vries, *Jan Steen 'de kluchtschilder'* (dissertation Groningen), Groningen 1977, ch. 2, note 76. The likeness between one of the servants and Pantalone, the ugly old man intent on amorous pleasure, was kindly brought to my attention by this author.

39. A.B. de Vries, 'De Hoenderhof,' *Openbaar kunstbezit* 11 (1967), pp. 61a-61b.

40. It was generally believed that God allowed 'monsters' to be born in order that man might learn about depraved human nature. For this concept see, e.g., Plinius Secundus, *Des*

wijthberoemden booch gheleerden ouden philosophi ende natuer-kondighers boecken ende schriften, Arnhem 1617, p. 18.

Ripa, op. cit. (note 2), p. 65, *Sceleratezza. Boeverye, Ondeughd, Schelmerye*. Here we read about the relationship between body and soul: 'Want gelijck de Philosophen seggen, soo is de proportie of gelijkmaetigheyt van de schoone trecken des lichaems een uybeeldsel van een schoon werckend gemoed: En gelijck het laecken sich past om den rugge, alsoo moeten oock de trecken en hoedaenigheden des lichaems passen mette volmaecktheyt der ziele: Waer over *Socrates* oock van gevoelen was, dat de hoedanigheyt des lichaems en der ziele, een gelijcke overeenkominge hebben.'

41. Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch arcadia. Pastoral art and its audience in the Golden Age*, Montclair and Woodbridge 1983, p. 74. Within this context, McNeil Kettering points out that pastoral children's portraits 'seem to allude to the virtue of innocence, a quality implied not only by their ages but also by the lambs with which they play.' Indeed, the lamb as a symbol of innocence may coincide with the lamb of the pastoral genre, as 'appears for instance from this painting and also that of Maes.

42. Plutarch 1619, op. cit. (note 3), p. Biii.

43. For this painting see Neil MacLaren, *The Dutch School* (National Gallery Catalogues), London 1960, nr. 1896.

For the story of the Four Sons of Aymon see G.D.J. Schotel, *Vaderlandsche volksboeken en volksprookjes van de vroegste tijden tot het einde der 18e eeuw*, Haarlem 1874, vol. 1, pp. 18-26, and Luc Debaene, *De Nederlandse volksboeken. Ontstaan en geschiedenis van de Nederlandse prozavromans gedrukt tussen 1475 en 1540*, Hulst 1977, pp. 67-73.

44. It is not very likely that the panel with the Ten Commandments was actually hanging here. The choice of the location seems to have been motivated by its didactic function within the context of the representation. For the conventional position of the panel with the Ten Commandments in the Protestant church interior see the particularly useful reference book by C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer, and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestants kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900*, The Hague 1984, p. 279.

45. Groenendijk, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 146-57, and Wittewrongel, op. cit. (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 182ff.

Pietas was strongly emphasized at school too. Continuing a tradition on which all Reformed school rules from 1529 onward had been based, the Hollandse Schoolorde of 1625 for the Latin schools contains the statement '*Pietas prora ac puppis studiorum esse debet*' ('A pious life should be the first and last objective in learning'). The same view was expressed by the States General in the school regulations for the Generality of 1655. Their main objective was to teach pupils the doctrine of the Reformed faith. The other subjects, such as science and languages, were of secondary importance. In this connection, see N.F. Noordam, 'Het mensbeeld in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden als grondslag voor de onderwijsvernieuwing in de 18de eeuw,' *Paedagogica Historica* 17 (1977), p. 348 with a reference to E.J. Kuiper, *De Hollandse 'Schoolordre' van 1625. Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in de Nederlanden in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Groningen 1958.

46. Cf. above, pp. 103-04.

47. Van Hoogstraeten, op. cit. (note 6), p. 90; de Lairese, op. cit. (note 20), p. 30.

48. Cats, op. cit. (note 12), 'Moeder,' p. 154: 'De Godts-geleerde seggen opentlick, dat genoegsaem alle gebreken der kinderen worden veroorsaect door de eygen schult haerder ouderen, en dat eerst door de opngeregeltheyt in de huwelijksche by-eenkomste, en daer na door het quaet beleyt soo in het Dragen als in het Op-voeden van de selve [...] De Tuchtmeesters, eyndelick, en leeraers der zeden leggen voor een gront-stuck, dat de kinders voor hare geboorte door ontucht haerder ouderen besmet wesende, gantsch beswaerlick naderhant door op-voedinge te rechte kunnen worden gebracht. En hierom so is't ook gebeurt dat Plutarchus, die van de opvoedinge der kinderen een boek heeft geschreven, niet van de wiege alleen, maer van noch verder-gehaelde begintelen, te weten vande versamelinge der ouders, den aenvang van sijn werck heeft genomen, als oordeelende dat selfs een goede op-voedinge in vele deelen te kort moet komen, indien de nature (dat is de eygenschap die eymant met hem ter werelt in-brengh) in ofte voor de geboorte alreede is bedorven.'

49. Ibid, pp. 171-72.
50. Noordam, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 347-77.
51. For this painting, which has been in the collection of the Alkmaar Stedelijk Museum since 1875, see catalogue Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum, *Schilderijen*, revised by N.J.M. Dresch, Alkmaar 1932⁵, p. 5, nr. 21. The painting is 168 x 212.5 cm, and inscribed with the monogram 'C.V.E.' on the scroll held by Lycurgus. The perspective takes account of the fact that the painting was to serve as an overmantel piece, and would therefore be situated high up. This explains the distortion of the figures when the painting is seen at eye level. It is also apparent in the photograph, which was taken almost at a right angle. The fall of the light in the painting corresponds with that in the Prince's Chamber at Alkmaar town hall, the room for which the painting was originally intended.
52. Alkmaar Municipal Archives, Stadsrekeningen over het jaar 1662, fols. 344r and 344v, '[...] over ende in voldoeninge van het schilderen vant stuck schilderije van licurgus, voorde schoorsteen inde princencamer.'
53. The Prince's Chamber was originally 12 meters long, 8 meters wide, and 4.5 meters high. The fireplace was situated on the short side. I am indebted to Ineke Zwaan for reconstructing these dimensions. Gysbert Boomkamp, *Alkmaar en deszelfs geschiedenissen...*, Rotterdam 1747, p. 423, and Th. P. H. Wortel, *Het stadhuis van Alkmaar*, Alkmaar 1951, pp. 7ff. This chamber also served as a reception room for other important guests, and for banquets or synods.
54. C.W. Bruinvis, 'Nadere mededelingen over kunstenaars en hun werk in betrekking tot Alkmaar,' *Oud Holland* 27 (1909), p. 118. Since the artist was paid in 1662, it is likely (also considering the large size of the canvas) that the commission was given in 1661, or perhaps even earlier.
55. The following account of the education of William III has been based partly on P. Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart 1641-1672*, Utrecht 1939, pp. 87-222; N. Japikse, *Prins Willem III. De Stadhouder-Koning*, Amsterdam 1930, vol. 1, pp. 83-99; Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625-1672*, Princeton, N.J. 1978.
56. Geyl. op. cit. (note 55), pp. 194-95: '[...] als een weerdich Pant en een instrument van groote hoope voor desen Staet nae behoren mach werden opgetrocken ten dienste deser Landen in de ware Christelijke Gereformeerde Religie in alle Princelijcke Deugden en in de kennis van de humeuren, Rechten ende Costuymen deser Landen, om alsoo bequam te worden tot bedieninge van de Hooge Charges en employen bij sijne Voorvaderen ende Bloedtverwanten op commissie van de hoog-gemelte Heeren Staten van Holland ende West-Vrieslandt bekleedt.'
57. Ibid., p. 203, '[...] als oppervoochden bij levenden lijve haer kind 't eenemaal overgedragen hadde.'
58. Ibid., pp. 220-21, '[...] te laeden de blasme van eene quade educatie ende noch daerenboven te leggen eenich engagement tot yets, 't welck, Sijn Hooch[heij]t, qualijck geëduceerd ende met affectie van desen Staet vervremt synde voor denselven Staet ten hoochsten schaedelijck, jae ruineus soude connen wesen.'
59. Alkmaar's representative in this committee was Nanning van Foreest, who had been closely involved in the affairs of the young prince since 1651 (Japikse, op. cit. [note 55], vol. 1, pp. 44ff.). We have no clear idea about Alkmaar's position at that time with respect to the House of Orange. A few years later, when purges of anti-Orangist elements took place, not a single official was unseated in Alkmaar, unlike other cities (this was kindly brought to my attention by Dr. M. van der Bijl). We may therefore tentatively infer that Alkmaar was at any rate not anti-Orangist. This, however, is not very relevant with respect to the commission of the picture.
60. For the council resolutions concerning the education of William III, see Alkmaar Municipal Archives, Vroedschapsresoluties vol. 11, 1653-60, fols. 287v, 288r, 290v, and vol. 12, 1661-66, fols. 4r, 6r, 15v, 19v, 21r, 21v.
61. Plutarch, *Lives*, with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin (The Loeb Classical Library), vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. and London 1967, 'Lycurgus,' III.
62. *The adoption of Charilaüs* by Cornelis Holsteyn is an overmantel painting in the

orphans' chamber in the former town hall (now the palace) on Dam Square in Amsterdam. Here, too, a historical parallel was chosen. Like Lycurgus, the city fathers - who were the orphans' wardens - adopted children. They identified with Lycurgus as a guardian, which is underscored in the sculptured fireplace with the lizards; these should be interpreted as attributes of 'Voogdhyschap,' or Guardianship (cf. Ripa, op. cit. [note 2], p. 560). For Hollsteyn's painting see B. Buchbinder-Green, *The painted decoration of the town hall of Amsterdam* (University Microfilms International); Ann Arbor and London 1974, pp. 143-46.

63. Van Veen, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 56-57. For a discussion of this emblem see Gerards-Nelissen, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 20ff. Also cf. Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens in Italien,' in exhib. cat. Cologne (Kunsthalle), *Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640*, Cologne 1977, vol. 1, pp. 31-32, and note 107. Subsequent editions of the *Emblemata Horatiana* differ from Plutarch in that the dogs are not puppies from the same litter, but a hound and a perfectly ordinary mongrel. The latter, apparently, can be trained for hunting, while the hound, which is suitable for the hunt by nature, succumbs to gluttony since it has not been trained.

64. Marin Le Roy de Gomberville, *La doctrine des moeurs tiree de la philosophie des stoïques: representee en cent tableaux et expliquee en cent discours pour l'instruction de la jeunesse*, Paris 1646.

The second edition was dedicated to Mazarin, Anne's successor as tutor of Louis XIV.

*An exceptionally learned painter. Mattheus
Verheyden's written and painted allegories*

*'Men springht soo terstont niet met
beslobde schoenen totte konsten'*

D.P. Pers

While Lessing was certainly not the first to make disparaging remarks about allegorical painting, it is his sharp critique of allegory, expressed in the *Laokoon*, which has most obviously fueled historiographical debate on the matter. Since it has been taken up and quoted so frequently, Lessing's critique has had a significant impact both on painterly practice and on the historiography of the allegorical genre.¹ As recently as 1922, Benedetto Croce concluded his essay on the nature of allegory by observing that he preferred to leave the deciphering of allegories to those with time to waste, or to those less well educated and therefore less easily bothered by such waste of time.²

From a formal-esthetic point of view, the attitude of art historians toward allegory has become gradually more favorable in the course of this century. Moreover, the warnings of scholars such as Panofsky have not passed unheeded. Panofsky has refuted the distinction between representations 'which one considers "artistically essential" (like the contents of the Bible) and those which one believes may be passed over as "intricate allegory" or "abstruse symbolism."' ³ Nevertheless, the allegorical genre still tends to be regarded as something not entirely respectable.

In retrospect, the exhibition *Gods, Saints & Heroes, Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (to restrict ourselves to Dutch art) certainly reflects this situation. The exhibition sought to correct the popular view that the Dutch masters of the Golden Age applied themselves exclusively to rendering their immediate environment. The exhibi-

tion catalogue pointed out, rightly, that although a considerable part of seventeenth-century painting consisted of history paintings, the category scarcely figured in the general view of seventeenth-century painting formed in later periods. According to seventeenth-century art theory, allegory belonged to the category of history painting, as the catalogue indeed acknowledged. Yet, out of a total of eighty-three works on the exhibition only three happened to be allegories.⁴ Given the unfortunate lack of quantitative data in nearly all areas of art-historical study, it is impossible to determine the exact ratio of allegorical paintings in the total number of history paintings. However, I am confident that this exceeds the 3.6 percent implied by the ratio selected for exhibition, and that this percentage is a measure of the organizers' appreciation of the allegory, rather than an indication of the true ratio, particularly for the late seventeenth century.

On the other hand, it is paradoxical that researchers studying this period are more inclined to attribute allegorical meanings to so-called genre paintings than to explore the allegorical genre proper. Curious as it may seem, the widespread tendency to interpret genre pictures as if they were allegories has affected our view of the role played by the allegorical genre in this country during the eighteenth century. Since concealed allegorical meanings in seventeenth-century genre paintings failed to be recognized in the eighteenth century, the significance of traditional allegory during that period had to be played down by iconologists. It has been argued, therefore, that traditional allegory was already disappearing by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that 'the concept of a dictionary of emblems with fixed attributes and symbols became the subject of ridicule.' Within this context, it is not surprising that *Het groot natuur- en zedekundig werelttoneel* by Hubert Kornelisz. Poot, the most thorough and impressive adaptation of Ripa's *Iconologia* ever published, has been dismissed as a work which was completely out of date when it appeared.⁵

Now that the symbolic content of the average seventeenth-century genre painting has been reduced to more 'realistic' proportions, the claim that this category of painting was incomprehensible in the eighteenth century needs to be reviewed. It has lost credence as an argument to support the view that traditional allegory was disappearing. The converse is probably true. The fact that seventeenth-century genre painting was not usually interpreted in allegorical terms in the eighteenth century should serve as a warning about treating these works as allegories. As far as Poot is concerned, an often ignored fact is that the first part of his book was published as early as 1726, and not in 1743, and that the subscription was already open in July and August of 1723.⁶ Besides, the publisher and printer

Reinier Boitet would have been unlikely to commit himself to a publication of such magnitude without having made certain that the book was indeed marketable. But even if we regard the year of publication as 1750, the year in which the third part finally appeared, there are no grounds for maintaining that the book was already obsolete and traditional allegory on the way out.

The contrary is true. Around the middle of the century, and during the following decades, allegory still occupied a prominent position. Indeed, Louis Fabritius Dubourg's overmantel painting for the sheriffs' courtroom in the Amsterdam town hall, which the Amsterdam municipality commissioned in 1764, was an allegory. This otherwise unspectacular work owes its importance to the fact that it was immediately and relentlessly censured by no less a person than the artist, collector, and theorist Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, in an elaborate exposé which is one of the earliest instances in this country of a detailed critique of a single painting. What is remarkable here is that with the exception of the allegorical concept or invention, all other aspects of the painting, such as ordonnance, drawing, and color, were found lacking.⁷ The sophisticated allegorical decoration program which adorned the town hall of Goes after a thorough alteration of the old building in ca. 1774 is another indication of the continuing popularity of allegory in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸

The subsequent detraction of allegory in the Netherlands - a phenomenon which had occurred earlier in neighboring countries - focused on the fact that its enigmatic character tended to conflict with the classicist requirement that a representation be intelligible.⁹ This aspect of allegory caused its almost complete demise, and created an intellectual distance with respect to the allegorical heritage - a gap which can only be bridged by frequently laborious interpretations. We should therefore consider ourselves fortunate to be left with a few surviving programs for allegorical decorations. They can cast light on how allegories were conceived, and may serve as guidelines for interpreting allegories which have no such keys.¹⁰ To this limited series of programmatic writings four documents can now be added which are unique in several respects, and which have been included here in full with annotations in appendices. They serve as the starting point for this article.

Mattheus Verheyden

In 1733 a start was made with the prestigious extension of the town hall in The Hague, for which the Magistrate of The Hague had set aside more than one hundred thousand guilders.¹¹ For the decoration of the new burgomasters' chamber the Magistrate commissioned Mattheus Terwesten and Mattheus Verheyden, who were in fact the only painters in The Hague eligible for the assignment at the time. Terwesten decorated the ceiling with a number of uncomplicated yet appropriate personifications and with representations of the four elements.¹² Verheyden was commissioned to do the overmantel painting and the two overdoor pieces. At first sight, Verheyden's allegories appear uninvolved. However, the accompanying programs, which he himself wrote, reveal them to be possibly the most complex ever produced in this country, with a richness of meaning hitherto unparalleled. The question arises as to whether there are any other allegories showing such a discrepancy between form and content. Dating from the same period is Verheyden's extensive program for the allegorical painting *Tafereel van de Historie studie* (Tableau of the study of History), which was presumably intended for the Confrérie Pictura in The Hague. However, before discussing these exceptional paintings and programs, I would like to introduce this almost forgotten artist, who describes himself in his writings as a history painter and portraitist.

Whatever the current view of his qualities as a painter, Mattheus Verheyden was undeniably a successful and celebrated artist during his lifetime. Johan van Gool's *Nieuwe schouburg* from 1751, for instance, devotes nineteen pages to his biography - no fewer than to Verheyden's contemporary, Cornelis Troost - and even honors him with a portrait (fig. 86).¹³

Born in Breda on July 1, 1700, Verheyden was named after his maternal grandfather, Mattheus Puts, attorney and chief bailiff of the court of Brabant.¹⁴ His father was the master sculptor Franck Pietersz. Verheyden from The Hague, who had probably come to Breda in the retinue of William III.¹⁵ He became a burgher of that city on December 17, 1682 and on June 14 of the same year he married Maria Puts, who lived in Breda, and who was descended from the illustrious van der Veecken family from Antwerp. They had ten children, of whom Mattheus was the youngest. Mattheus's mother died on January 10, 1702, eighteen months after his birth. From 1699 until his death on September 22, 1711, Franck Verheyden and his family lived in a rented house on the Kasteelplein.¹⁶

Orphaned at the age of eleven, Mattheus was placed in the care of his eldest brother in The Hague in order to study painting there. He



86. P. Tanjé, *Portrait of Mattheus Verheyden*
after a drawn self-portrait, detail. Engraving from:
Johan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg...*,
The Hague 1751

was apprenticed to the artist Hendrik Carré, in whose studio he stayed for one year. In 1717, after having made the acquaintance of the history painter Mattheus Terwesten and the portraitist Constantijn Netscher, both of whom he had met on visits to the Pictura academy in The Hague, Mattheus moved to the studio of Carel de Moor, who was to become his real teacher. Before his marriage in 1725 to Margaretha Craeymes from The Hague, Mattheus spent two years in Breda, from where he visited Antwerp to study the work of Rubens and van Dyck. Subsequently, in 1726, he registered at the chamber of Pictura in The Hague. His flamboyant self-portrait from 1729 shows him as a by then established painter (fig. 87). Van Gool writes that Verheyden - despite his history paintings - was primarily known for his portraits of 'Luiden van staet, vermogen en geleërtheit' ('powerful, affluent, and learned clients'). He describes him as a man naturally inclined toward a quiet and secluded life, far from the turmoil of the world, a modest person who was 'meer voldaan en vernoegt met zyn eige Tafel als die der Grooten' ('happier and more content at his own table than at those of the powerful'). Nevertheless, he was kind and obliging toward his *confrères* - always willing to teach others, and also willing to be taught. From an early age he suffered from gout, which at times prevented him from painting and confined him to bed. He would then devote his time to reading books, especially literature on the arts, a passion he indulged from early childhood. Over the years, Verheyden became a true *pictor doctus*, an ideal which at this time continued unabated. He died a childless widower in the Old Men's Home in The Hague on November 3, 1777.¹⁷

The allegories

Verheyden's first project in 1736 was the overmantel painting of the town hall ensemble (plate VII). He describes it in the accompanying program as the *Tafereel Van de Bevredigende Iustitie, ofte Gerechtigheijdt* (Tableau of Fair Justice).¹⁸ In the same year he produced a preliminary drawing for this allegory (fig. 88), with an abridged version of the program on the verso.¹⁹ In the following year, Verheyden painted the two overdoor pieces which were likewise accompanied by written programs. They describe the overdoor piece directly to the right of the fireplace (plate VIII) as an allegory of the *Salus Hagensis, ofte het Groeijen en Bloeijen der Konsten, Wetenschappen, Neringe en Hanteeringen* (Salus Hagensis, or the development and flourishing of Arts, Sciences, Trade, and Industry).²⁰ The other painting is described as a representation of the *Saeculi Felicitas Off de*



87. Mattheus Verheyden, *Self-portrait*, 1729.
Location unknown.



88. Mattheus Verheyden, *Preliminary study for the Tableau of Fair Justice*, 1736. The Hague, Municipal Archives.

gelukkigheijt des Eeuws onder de goede Regeringe (Saeculi Felicitas or the Century's good fortune under a prudent Administration; plate IX).²¹ Although Verheyden wrote separate programs for the two overdoor pictures, and gave the paintings different titles, the allegory is the same. This is borne out by the account submitted for the pictures, in which both pieces are referred to by a single title.²² Verheyden's decoration program reflects the prevailing belief in the existence of a causal relationship between justice on the one hand and the flourishing of arts and sciences, and trade and industry, on the other.

If we postulate the usual relationship between decoration program and function, we are faced with the problem of the emphatic presence of Justice in this burgomasters' chamber, since Justice is usually represented in sheriffs' courtrooms and tribunals. This deviant iconography can be explained by the fact that, as The Hague had not yet acquired the status of a city, the administration of justice was the responsibility of the bailiff, who represented the States of Holland. The burgomasters in The Hague had become closely associated with the sheriffs, and not, as was the case elsewhere, with the corporation. As the sheriffs were not allowed to convene without their chairman, the bailiff, the latter presided over the meetings of the Council of Burgomasters and Sheriffs. Eventually, the bailiff became the fourth and most important burgomaster.²³ Since this representative of jurisdiction occupied the burgomasters' chamber together with the other three burgomasters, a personification of justice as part of its decoration program was a *sine qua non*.

Verheyden's other allegory is known only from its program, whose complete title is *Tafereel Van de Historie studie, Vereenigt met (Pictura) d'schilderkonst* (Tableau of the study of History, United with [Pictura] the art of painting).²⁴ The only likely place for which it may have been intended is the Confrérie Pictura in The Hague, of which Verheyden was a member for much of his life. This program highlights the idea that it is indispensable for a history painter to be erudite, that he should have a good memory, and that he should have patrons, without whom it is impossible to achieve fame.

According to Verheyden, erudition is of paramount importance. In this sense, he is the prototype of the *pictor doctus*. The view Rensselaer W. Lee puts forward in his classic study *Ut pictura poesis* is probably right; he regards the learned painter as a 'highly theoretical personage who, if not quite a figment of the imagination, has never had more than a partial basis in reality; and much of the time he has no basis there at all.'²⁵ Mattheus Verheyden, however, appears to be the exception that proves the rule. Verheyden at one time compiled the ideal library for history painters; consisting of more than one hundred titles.²⁶ And when he created the four allegories referred to

previously, he used no fewer than twenty-one different sources, plus the Bible, which is cited repeatedly. By far his most favored source is Ripa's *Iconologia*, which he refers to no fewer than 120 times.²⁷

Verheyden's programs were clearly influenced by the *Iconologia*. They are made up, generally speaking, of the same components with which Ripa constructed his 'immagini': the title of the concept to be visualized, a description of the personification (the 'beeldenisse' or 'immagine' proper), the definition of the concept, and an explanation of the various elements constituting the image. This structure is apparent, for instance, in the program of the *Tafereel Van de Historie studie*. The program gives a title, a definition of the concept, i.e., the study of history (ll. 1-50), a description of the personification (ll. 51-65), and an explanation of the constituent elements (ll. 66-120).²⁸

Verheyden's personifications, like Ripa's, are interspersed with quotations from Scripture. This is notably the case in his allegory of justice, which contains nearly one hundred references to the Bible. There is a marked difference, however, between this personification and the other three allegories, which, like Ripa's, contain only a few biblical references. The profusion of scriptural fragments in Verheyden's allegory of justice can be explained by the contemporary theocratic view of law, according to which earthly justice should reflect divine jurisdiction.²⁹ Verheyden consequently takes every opportunity to punctuate his 'sacral' allegory with scriptural passages. Not seldom does he suggest relationships - however arbitrary and forced they may seem to us - between particular aspects of his personifications and the Scriptures. This practice, incidentally, was not uncommon at the time.³⁰ For Justice's embroidered purple garment, for instance, Verheyden refers to Psalms 45:15, Isaiah 63:1-2, and Isaiah 61:10-11, which alluded to the elements embroidered, purple, and garment, respectively, albeit separately. While the biblical references to purple and garment are indeed associated with justice, this is not true of the allusion to an embroidered garment.³¹

Like Ripa, who occasionally quotes Italian poets to explain his 'beeldenisse,' Verheyden cites from the work of celebrated contemporary poets such as Jacob Zeeus and Claes Bruin. Ripa's '[...] waer over Ariosto alsdus singht [...],' for instance, is echoed by Verheyden as '[...] waer van den zoetvloeyende Dichter I. Zeeus dus zingt [...].'³² Verheyden has no scruples about lifting lines of verse from their context or manipulating their meaning.³³ He is even prepared to adapt the material he quotes to suit his compositions. Thus we have reason to infer that he considered the image more important than the text.³⁴

Furthermore, both Verheyden and Ripa cite particular authors at second hand, and both, although Verheyden less frequently than

Ripa, quote without acknowledging their sources. It should be pointed out in this connection that there is also a striking difference between Verheyden's programs and the *Iconologia*, in that Verheyden underpins his explanations with complete bibliographic data which enable us to follow the painter during the creation of his allegories. These references are one of the features which make Verheyden's documents so unique.

Despite the unmistakable impact of the *Iconologia* on Verheyden's work, the designs for his allegories did not always correspond with Ripa's formula for creating the ideal personification. Verheyden, by the way, is not alone in this. Unlike Ripa, he does not regard the human figure as the only possible medium for personification. In Verheyden's work, for instance, the iron gate in the allegory of the Saeculi Felicitas can represent the art of forging, and the bronze vase the art of casting sculpture. His choice of bearers also violates the important requirement that a concept may never be explained by an isolated instance. In such a case, the allegorization fails because the example does not express the essence of the concept, but only represents a fortuitous, individual illustration of how this concept may operate.

Verheyden has taken full advantage of the license which Ripa allows the artist to create allegories of his own by making new combinations - with certain limits - of existing 'beeldenissen.' As a result, none of Verheyden's personifications can be traced purely to a single existing personification from the *Iconologia* or any other source. His personification of the Salus Hagensis, which combines four qualities (youth, beauty, cheerfulness, and auburn hair) and six attributes (sempervivum, laurel, lily, amaranth, floral wreath, red clothing) representing entirely different aspects of the concept of Salus Hagensis, draws on no fewer than eighteen personifications from Ripa, as well as on de Lairesse and Oudaen.³⁵ Nevertheless, in terms of the number of sources and the frequency of the references to them, this personification pales into insignificance in comparison with the extremely intricate and idiosyncratic personification of justice.

Verheyden's method of allegorization enables the attribute of a particular personification to be a personification in its own right and with attributes of its own. The stone sculpture, for instance, which is an attribute of Sculpture in Ripa, is specified by Verheyden in his allegory of the Salus Hagensis as a statue of Mercury, on which his personification of sculpture is working. As Mercury, this attribute of Sculpture is, in turn, an autonomous personification with its own attributes.³⁶

It is not unusual for Verheyden to attach more than one meaning

to a single attribute. Sheen, for instance, in which Verheyden dresses his seemingly uncomplicated personification of architecture, stands not only for the 'eendragtige veranderingen van de dingen, die in dese konst het oogh vermaect' (the 'harmonious change of things, which in art is pleasant to the eye'), as we may read in Ripa, but also for the two sorts of stone used in the new façade of the town hall visible in the distance.³⁷

In attaching meanings to specific qualities or attributes of a personification, which might often occur as an afterthought, Verheyden made liberal use of what may be called the 'synecdoche method.' For example, his personification of painting is robed in blue, a color signifying hope and patience which are associated with the concept of painting; patience, because Ripa's personification of patience is dressed in a blue garment, and hope, since the blue of the garment symbolizes hope. However, Verheyden is not consistent in this synecdochical use of allegory, in which the attribute of a personification symbolizes the personification itself while retaining its own meaning within the personification.³⁸

These few examples are sufficient to demonstrate that Verheyden's manner of allegorizing, though firmly anchored in the tradition of the *Iconologia*, was highly idiosyncratic and capricious, and it seems infinitely ingenious. It is impossible to trace from his programs any consistent, logical rules that might serve as a basis for iconological interpretation. As a result, while most personifications may perhaps point us in the direction of the general concepts which they represent, any attempt at an interpretation which would seek to define the concept itself is doomed to fail without the help of the programs. This substantiates the point Croce made in his aforementioned essay on allegory that deciphering an allegory is a hopeless task unless one has the authentic explanation or the inventor's statement of intent, since any attempt to do so cannot go beyond mere assumption and can only claim a greater or lesser degree of probability.³⁹ We have no reason to assume that Verheyden's contemporaries were in a different position from that of the twentieth-century iconologist. It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that Verheyden regarded his programs as integral parts of his paintings.⁴⁰ At the same time they offered the Magistrate of The Hague tangible proof of Verheyden's erudition. This is not to say, however, that Verheyden considered the word equal to the image. At the beginning of the program for his allegory of justice, he cites the famous lines from Horace's *Ars Poetica*: 'segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem / quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus' ('less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the

trusty eyes'). The quotation should be read within the context of the *paragone* debate, where it was introduced to support the thesis that painting was superior to poetry. It apparently expressed Verheyden's conviction that his painting of the *Bevredigende Iustitie* was superior to the elaborate written program. It is likely that Verheyden's view was also based on another - fallacious - argument, which is put forward repeatedly in this debate, namely that a single glance at a picture suffices to convey its complex contents, while a description takes much more time and effort to communicate.⁴¹

In 1779, Marten Jozef Geeraerts, the artist responsible for the allegorical decoration of the tribunal in the town hall in Goes, presented the regents of the Leiden orphanage with two designs for an appropriate overmantel painting for the regentesses' chamber. Geeraerts's explanation cites Ripa almost verbatim on the concepts of benevolence and education, from which the regents could choose.⁴² Geeraerts's simple designs and Verheyden's complex allegories constitute the two poles between which allegory could swing. While Verheyden's allegories were perhaps not unique, his way of allegorizing was certainly not the rule. It would be entirely mistaken to argue on the basis of Verheyden's practice that the average allegory contains a similarly complex program.

Verheyden's allegory of the *Salus Hagensis* depicts Painting with an art book from which the personification is taking a drawing. This attribute derives from Ripa's personification of 'Attione Virtuosa. Deughdlijck Bestaen,' and visualizes the concept that man can achieve fame and greatness by practicing the arts. The sheet being taken from the art book is one of Verheyden's own drawings, a preliminary study for his overmantel painting. It is a subtle admission of the artist's own aspirations as a painter.⁴³ However, the fame he enjoyed during his lifetime, and to which van Gool attests, did not outlive him and he cannot be said to have left his mark on historiography. This is perhaps unsurprising considering the quality of some of his paintings and the aversion to allegorical painting mentioned earlier. This may change, however, now that what are probably his most important pictures have been reunited with their programs. As a result, these apparently uncomplicated allegories can be viewed in an entirely new and surprising light, to reveal to us a *pictor doctus* with a firm 'basis in reality.' Although these programs are particularly fascinating from a historiographical point of view, they certainly give the twentieth-century reader plenty of homework to do. Indeed, for such a reader, the dictum found in the preface of Dirck Pietersz. Pers's edition of Ripa has lost none of its original validity: 'Men springht soo terstont niet met beslobde schoenen totte konsten: daer moet

leerlust, naerstigheyt, overlegh en gestadigheyt by komen' ('Art cannot be rushed upon in muddy boots: it requires a desire to learn, diligence, reflection, and perseverance').⁴⁴

Notes

I am indebted to Charles Dumas of the Municipal Archives in The Hague for information he has kindly provided.

1. G.E. Lessing, *Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, [s.l.] 1766. Unfavorable comments had been voiced in France by Abbé du Bos, Diderot, Roger de Piles, Noël Antoine Pluche, and others.

2. Benedetto Croce, 'Vom Wesen der Allegorie' (original title: 'Sulla natura dell' allegoria') in id., *Kleine Schriften zur Aesthetik*, vol. 1, Tübingen 1929, p. 178.

3. Erwin Panofsky, 'Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst,' *Logos* 21 (1932), pp. 103-19, 'die er für "künstlerisch wesentlich" hält (wie etwa die Inhalte der Bibel) und solchen, die er als "verzwickte Allegorie" oder "abstruse Symbolik" glaubt beiseite lassen zu dürfen.'

4. Exhib. cat. *Gods, Saints & Heroes, Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington (National Gallery), Detroit (Institute of Arts), Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), Washington 1980, cf. nrs. 36, 53, and 69.

5. Peter Hecht, 'Candlelight and dirty fingers, or royal virtue in disguise. Some thoughts on Weyerman and Godfried Schalcken,' *Simiolus* 11 (1980), pp. 36-38.

6. Hubert Kornelisz. Poot, *Het groot natuur- en zedekundig werelttoneel van aeloude Egyptische, Grieksche en Romeinsche zinnebeelden of beeldenspraek...*, Delft (Reinier Boitet) 1726. It also appears from the 'Voorreden' that for the subscription a number of proofs (16 at least)

were printed. The Alkmaar rector Ouwens, who was the actual author, states in these 'Voorreden' that the second volume was expected to appear within the next eight months, and the third volume eight months later. Apologizing to his subscribers for the delay which had by then already occurred in the publication of the first volume, he writes that they were 'genootzaekt [...] om niet alleen de vertaling van Pers [who edited the first publication in Dutch of Ripa's *Iconologia*] tegen 't Italiaensch naeukeurigh na te zien en zorgvuldig te verbeteren van die misslagen, daer hy zoo vol van was, dat wy naeulyks een Zinnebeelt van eenig belang vonden, of het krielde van fouten; maer ook naue gade te slaen op alles dat de Italiaenen zeiden [...].'

7. Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, 'Aen den schryver der Oordeelkundige Aanmerkingen,' *Oordeelkundige Aanmerkingen over Verscheidenen Zaken, Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 1, nr. 10 (1766), pp. 145-59, 'Het stuk, getoetst aan de Inventie, stryd juist niet ten eenemaale met de *Welvoeglijkheid*; want Gerechtigheid, Deugd en Voorzichtigheid voegen wel by elkander.' For this painting and its assessment see Jan Baptist Bedaux, 'A discussion on Rembrandt in eighteenth-century Amsterdam. Petrus Camper versus Cornelis Ploos van Amstel,' *Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 3 (1986), pp. 49-50. The discourse was reprinted in A. Blankert (with R.

Ruurs), *Amsterdams Historisch Museum. Schilderijen daterend van voor 1800, voorlopige catalogus*, Amsterdam 1975-79, pp. 86-94.

8. J.B. Bedaux et al., 'De ideologie van een stadsregering. Het 18e-eeuwse allegorische decoratieprogramma van het Goese stadhuis,' *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 83 (1984), pp. 183-222.

9. For criticism in the Netherlands see Richard Bionda, 'Tets over de allegorie in de 19e eeuw,' *Kunstlicht* 6 (1982), pp. 4-10. From the 'Verhandeling over het gebruik der allegorie in de teken- en schilderkunst' of Joannes Lublink the younger, which was published in *Vaderlandsch Magazijn van Wetenschap, Kunst en Smaak* 1803, pp. 249-82, it appears that traditional allegory and Poot were both outdated by then. Lublink, an advocate of the immediately accessible allegory, writes: 'Men meent zo ligtelijk alles in figuren te kunnen uitdrukken: men heeft immers hierover zo veele voorschriften en lessen, in uitvoerige werken opzettelijk tot onderwijs in deeze kunst geschreven. Het is zo; het ontbreekt niet aan een menigte figuren, waarover stichtelijke en aardige dingen gezegd zijn: maar zijn ze, zonder die commentariën, ook verstaanbaar? dit is de groote vraag. Ik doorbladerde, ter gelenheid van dit opstel, het Groot Natuur- en Zedekundig Waereldtoneel, of Woordenboek van Poot, de bekende uitbreiding van Cesar Ripa. Ik beschouwde eerst de menigvuldige afbeeldingen op zich zelve, zonder de verklaringen daarvan te leezen, om te beproeven hoe verre ik het kon brengen; en ik betuig oprechtelijk, dat ik het geheele eerste folio deel had doorgelopen, zonder ééne afbeelding aan te treffen, die ik genoeg verstond, om gerustelijk te durven beslissen, wat ze bepaaldelijk moest beteekenen [...].'

10. Cf. E.H. Gombrich, 'Aims and limits of iconology,' in id., *Symbolic images. Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London 1975, pp. 9-11.

11. For the extension of the town hall see J.C. Herpel, *Het oude Raadhuis van 's-Gravenhage*, vol. 2, 1975, pp. 350-428.

12. The most recent restoration of the town hall, which was completed in 1975, brought to light Terwesten's long-hidden paintings. These representations had previously been known from Terwesten's bill for the magistrate of The

Hague, which contains a detailed description of his ceiling painting. Earlier publications of this description are not entirely accurate (cf. M.G. Wildeman, 'Het stadhuis te 's-Gravenhage,' *Haagsch Jaarboekje* 8 (1896), pp. 144-45, and Herpel, op. cit. [note 11], pp. 405-06, who based himself on Wildeman). This is my reason for including it once more.

Ten diensten van D'Edele Agtbaare / Heeren
Burgermeesteren van / s'Graven Hage. / In
Haar Edele vertrek-kamer / geschildert. / Bij
mij M: Terwesten. /

Een platfond, bestaande in een middel- /
stuk nevens vier hoeken. /

Het middel-stuk (:lang twintig, en / breet
sestien voeten:) verbeelt, D'Agtbaar- / heid en
Politie, vergeselschap zijnde met / Minerva de
Hemelsche wijsheid, raison- / neeren met
malkanderen over de goede / harmonie der
Eendragt en Liefde tot / zijn Even-naasten, die
zig nevens haar / vertoonen, en haare gaaven
aan de / Behoeftigen mildaadiglijk uijtdeelt. /

Daar aan komt de Suijvere Waarheid / die
de Gerechtigheid ambrasseert, welke het /
schandelijk Bedrog onder haare voeten / houdt,
als zijnde verbanne uijt dit / Heerlijk
Geselschap. /

En nevens het zelve sit geplaatst / het Gebed,
die geduuriglijk roept en bidt tot / Godt, om
voortgang deser Eluijstere / Regeering. /

De vier hoeken in't graauw geschildert, /
zijn de vier Elementen, door dieren / en
voogels verbeelt, namentlijk
D'Aarde, door Leeuwen en Vrugten; /
De Logt, door een Arend, die na de / son
vliegt, nevens ander gevogelten. /
Het Vier, door een Phoenix die zig / verbrand;
nevens een Salamander, welke / in't vier leeft. /
Het Waater, door de Zee-waagen en / paarden
van Neptunus. /

Dit alles geaccordeert voor de / somme van
duijzent Guldens; zegge f 1000-0-0.

The payment was approved by the burgomaster Willem van Assendelft. The receipt dates from October 30, 1736. For this bill see Municipal Archives, The Hague, inv. nr. 1863.

13. Johan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, vol. 2,

The Hague 1751, pp. 278-97. This engraving by P. Tanjé after a drawn self-portrait of Mattheus Verheyden is facing p. 278.

There used to be a copy of this work with handwritten annotations and addenda by Verheyden himself, up to 1770 (cf. Christiaan Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd*, vol. 4, Amsterdam 1860, p. 1713). This copy could not be located.

14. Mattheus Puts is mentioned by Jacob Campo Weijerman, *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen...*, vol. 4, Dordrecht 1769, pp. 380-84.

15. Franck Pietersz. Verheyden was born in The Hague on November 3, 1655. According to C. Peeters, 'Beeldhouwwerk van het kasteel van Breda,' *Jaarboek van 'De Oranjeboom'* 17 (1964), p. 59, Franck Pietersz. Verheyden was engaged as a sculptor for the subordinate ornaments of this castle during the major alteration project in 1688-95. For this he refers to Jacob Campo Weijerman, op. cit. (note 14).

16. After Maria's death, Franck Verheyden married Margarita van der Werk, who lived in the Schoolstraat. Their marriage took place in the Grote Kerk on October 4, 1702. After her death he married Eva Trojen, the widow of Johannes Vlamingh, who lived in the Vismarktstraat. They were married in the same church on February 3, 1704.

On September 11, 1702, in anticipation of his intended marriage to Margarita, an inventory was made of Franck's property, which was estimated at over one thousand guilders (Municipal Archives, Breda, Notarial archives 422, act 75, September 11, 1702).

Franck Verheyden was buried in the Grote Kerk on September 26, 1711 (Municipal Archives, Breda, H. 704, fol. 237).

The family lived at no. 106 (Municipal Archives, Breda, Pandboek 1699-1738). Weijerman, op. cit. (note 14), pp. 380-84, mentions 'een schoon huis in het vermaakelykste van die Stad.'

17. According to Kramm, op. cit. (note 13), who quotes from a manuscript of Pieter Terwesten (1714-1798), Mattheus sold his entire property when gout forced him to abandon painting. He was admitted to the Old Men's

Home founded by the late Baron van Schagen.

18. This painting (canvas, 187 x 144 cm) is signed in the bottom left-hand corner '[M] Verheijden Fecit.' In 1736, Verheyden submitted his bill, which reads as follows:

Voor de WelEdele Aghtbare / Heeren
Burgermeesteren /
van S. Gravenhage door / mij Matthaëus
Verheijden.

Geschildert in het groote vertrek / van haer
WelEdele Aghtbare, / Een schoorsteenstuk,
verbeeldende / de Gerechtigheit, ofte
Bevredigende / Iustitie; Rijck van Ordonnantie
/ en Zinnebeelden; alles op het Uijtvoe- / rigste
na 't Leeven Geschildert &c. /
komt per naest F 650-0- /

Een dubbelden Fijnen Doeck / daar toe
gelevert en daer voor betaelt F 10-0- /

Somma F 660-0-

On December 7, 1736, the Magistrate decided to pay Verheyden not more than 500 guilders. The payment was approved by the burgomaster Johan ten Hove. Verheyden's receipt dates from December 10, of the same year. It is not known why he was paid 160 guilders less, although it is worth noting that 660 guilders was a considerable sum for such a painting. For this bill see Municipal Archives, The Hague, inv. no. 1862; for the accompanying program see Hs. 391 (included in appendix 1).

19. This drawing in the Municipal Archives of The Hague (Gr.A.81) measures 36.6 x 28.2 cm (pen in black, gray, and brown; brush in brown and gray; traces of red chalk). For the text on the verso see appendix III.

This drawing may be compared with a design for an overmantel painting with a *Zinnebeeld van de Deugt, en godvrugtigheijt*, whose reverse side similarly contains an (abridged?) program (drawing sold at Sotheby's London, 3-21-1974, as lot 73, negative nos. L777 and L775; I am indebted to Ms. Jane Alway of Sotheby's for sending me photographs of the drawing).

20. This picture (canvas, 188 x 124 cm) is signed in the bottom left-hand corner 'M. Verheijden Fecit' and dated '1737' in the bottom right-hand corner. For the program see Municipal Archives, The Hague, Hs. 392 (included in appendix 1).

21. This picture (canvas, 188 x 124 cm) is signed in the bottom right-hand corner 'M. Verheijden.' For the accompanying program see Municipal Archives, The Hague, Hs. 393 (included in appendix 1).

22. The bill, which Verheyden submitted in March 1737, reads as follows:

Voor de WelEdele Aght- / bare Heeren
Burgermeesteren / van s. gravenhage, Door
mij, M. Verheijden, /

Geschildert in het groote vertrek / van hare
WelEdele Aghtbare, / Twee Boven Deur
stukken, verbeeldende / (door Levens groote
Kinderties en zinne- / beelden, uijtvoelig na
het Leven geschildert) Het Salus Hagensis,
ofte het / groeijen en Bloeyen der Konsten,
Ne- / ringe en Hanteeringen & c. van s.g.Hage.
/ Komt ijder schildereij 300, Dus de Twee
ƒ 600-0-

The magistrate approved the bill on January 13, 1738, and payment was approved by the burgo-master Jacob de Bijde. Verheyden's receipt dates from January 20, 1738. For this bill see Municipal Archives, The Hague, inv. nr. 1864. That this is one and the same allegory is also apparent from the fact that the personification of the Salus Hagensis occurs in the allegory of the Saeculi Felicitas.

23. A.J. Servaas van Rooijen, *Het Burgemeestersambt van 's-Gravenhage* (Werken van de Vereeniging 'Die Haghe,' vol. 1), The Hague 1895; H.E. van Gelder, *'s-Gravenhage in zeven eeuwen*, Amsterdam 1937, pp. 171-72.

24. Municipal Archives, The Hague, Hs. 394 (included in appendix 1).

25. Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut pictura poesis. The humanistic theory of painting*, New York 1967, p. 41.

Both the notions of the learned painter and the allegorical genre were scorned. Even in Lee we can detect a faint echo of the aversion toward the *pictor doctus*. He writes that 'it is not surprising that this theory [of the learned painter] should first evolve in a century that saw a decline in the creative energy both of art and scholarship; and like much of the Mannerist art of the period it is a distortion of objective truth' (Lee, op. cit., p. 47).

26. Cf. appendix 1, Historie, note 28. The

author is preparing a publication on this library.

27. For a complete list of these sources see the bibliography belonging to the appendices. For Ripa's method of allegorizing see Jochen Becker, 'Introduction,' in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghe[n] des verstands*, Soest 1971 (repr. of the edition Amsterdam 1644), pp. 1-XXXIII, and Gerlind Werner, *Ripa's Iconologia. Quellen - Methode - Ziele*, Utrecht 1977.

Other sources frequently cited by Verheyden are de Lairese (nearly 50 quotations, mainly from vol. 2, bk. 11, ch. 3, 'Verhandeling van de Stilleven'), Oudaen, and van Mander.

28. Like Ripa, Verheyden occasionally confuses description and explanation. His extremely detailed explanations do not cover all the elements from the descriptions. An example is the auburn hair of Salus Hagensis, which signifies youth and endurance (cf. appendix 1, SF, l. 9 and note 4). Conversely, Verheyden's descriptions occasionally lack particular details, which are, however, interpreted extensively. The description of the personification of justice, for instance, fails to mention the scepter of Justice resting on the *Corpus Iuris*, a detail which is interpreted at length (cf. appendix 1, Iustitie, l. 34, comment e, and note 11). The dog in the allegory of the Saeculi Felicitas is depicted with a collar which is neither described nor interpreted. All these instances, however, are exceptions rather than the rule.

29. Bedaux et al., op. cit. (note 8), pp. 212-13.

30. Elucidating in this context is the following fragment from Jacob Cats's *Proteus*, in *Alle de wercken, zoo oude als nieuwe*, Amsterdam 1665, p. **2: 'Eyntlijck, gunstige Leser, bidden wy u, niet te willen misduyden, dat wy deselve beelden ende gelijckenisse beyde ende tot menschelijcke in vallen, ende tot Goddelijcke bedenckingen 't geheele werck door onverscheydelijck hebben gebruyckt, en dat oock somwijlen met strijdige veranderingen, 't welck misschien yemandt mochte oordeelen, heet ende kout uyt eenen mont geblasen te zijn: want boven 't gene wy hier voren, als in 't voorby gaen, hier toegeseyt hebben, is aen te mercken, dat wy dese spelende vryheydt in't schryven, niet bestaen en hebben, sonder klare ende uytgedruckte voorschriften derhalven in de H. Schrift ons naergelaten, in dewelcke niet

selden een ende selve sake, nu ten goeden, ende dan ten quaden, in gelijckenisse wert getogen, ende dat met niet minder verscheydenheyt, ja strijt, van verdraeyinge als wy ergens in dit werck hebben gebruyckt.⁷

31. Cf. appendix I, Iustitie, l. 20.

32. Cf. Ripa, op. cit. (note 27), p. 18, *Crepusculo della matina*, and appendix I, Historie, l. 203. For the poets Zeeus and Bruin see appendix I, SH, notes 28 and 33.

33. Cf. appendix I, SH, ll. 98-104, and note 33.

34. Cf. appendix I, SF, ll. 45 and 51, and note 17.

35. Cf. appendix I, SF, ll. 6-16, and notes 4-10.

36. Cf. appendix I, SH, ll. 39-47, and note 17.

37. Cf. appendix I, SF, ll. 52-54, and note 18.

38. Cf. appendix I, SH, ll. 13-14, and note 9.

39. Benedetto Croce, op. cit. (note 2), p. 175.

40. In this sense they are comparable to the program for Daniel Gran's ceiling fresco in the Court Library at Vienna from the same period. Cf. Hans Tietze, 'Programme und Entwürfe zu den grossen österreichischen Barockfresken,' *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaisershauses* 30 (1911), pp. 1-28, and Kurt L. Schwarz, 'Zum ästhetischen Problem des "Programms" und der Symbolik und Allegorie in der barocken Malerei,' *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1937), pp. 79-88. Apart from the above-mentioned correspondence, Verheyden and Gran are scarcely comparable. An important difference which should be mentioned in this respect is that the program for the ceiling frescoes in the Court Library was not conceived by the painter himself, but, as was common practice, by a man of letters, in this case the court scholar Conrad Adolf von Albrecht.

41. Cf. appendix I, Iustitie, note 2.

42. For the exchange of letters between Geeraerts and the Leyden regents see A.J. van Dissel, 'Marten Jozef Geeraerts (1701-1791). Naar aanleiding van twee Leidse opdrachten,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1980), pp. 387-400, and Bedaux et al., op. cit. (note 8), p. 199, and note 66.

43. Cf. appendix I, SH, ll. 16-18, and note 6. Perhaps the art book Verheyden is opening in

his self-portrait (fig. 2) should be interpreted in the same sense.

44. Ripa, op. cit. (note 27), p. *3^v.

Introduction to the transcription and annotation of the manuscripts of Mattheus Verheyden

Transcription

In transcribing these manuscripts it has been my intention to adhere as closely as possible to the original in text and layout style. In keeping with this aim, each line of the transcription corresponds to a line in the manuscript, and the marginal annotations are placed at the same level as in the manuscript. Nevertheless, it was necessary and occasionally even advisable to make minor changes, particularly in the punctuation. It is frequently unclear, in fact, whether we are dealing with a period or a comma, a colon or a semi-colon. Furthermore, Verheyden's punctuation is inconsistent in many places, and sometimes confusing. When required, I have therefore made minor modifications in punctuation.

Verheyden underlines quite a few words in his text, most often the key words referring to his main subjects. Since the underlining does not follow a consistent system, and since it also tends to interfere with a harmonious layout of the text, I decided to omit it.

As the author does not distinguish between round and square brackets, all of Verheyden's square brackets have been changed into round ones. This helps distinguish them from the square brackets which serve to mark my additions to the text.

Whenever it was unclear whether a capital or a lower-case letter was meant, or whether particular words or letters were run together, I applied modern spelling rules.

Words are broken off in Verheyden's text by means of the sign '.,' which appears both at the end of the line and at the beginning of the next one. I have opted for the hyphen '-'; it is used exclusively at the end of a line.

To simplify annotation, the manuscripts have been given line numbers as well as reference numbers in superscript, the latter corresponding to the annotation notes.

Annotation

The annotation is intended to give a succinct impression of the information which Verheyden used in designing his allegories, and, at the same time, to provide an insight into his working methods. It should also be regarded as an addition to Verheyden's text in that obscure and cryptic passages have been clarified or commented on, while I have interpreted certain elements in the paintings which Verheyden has failed to explain adequately or overlooked entirely.

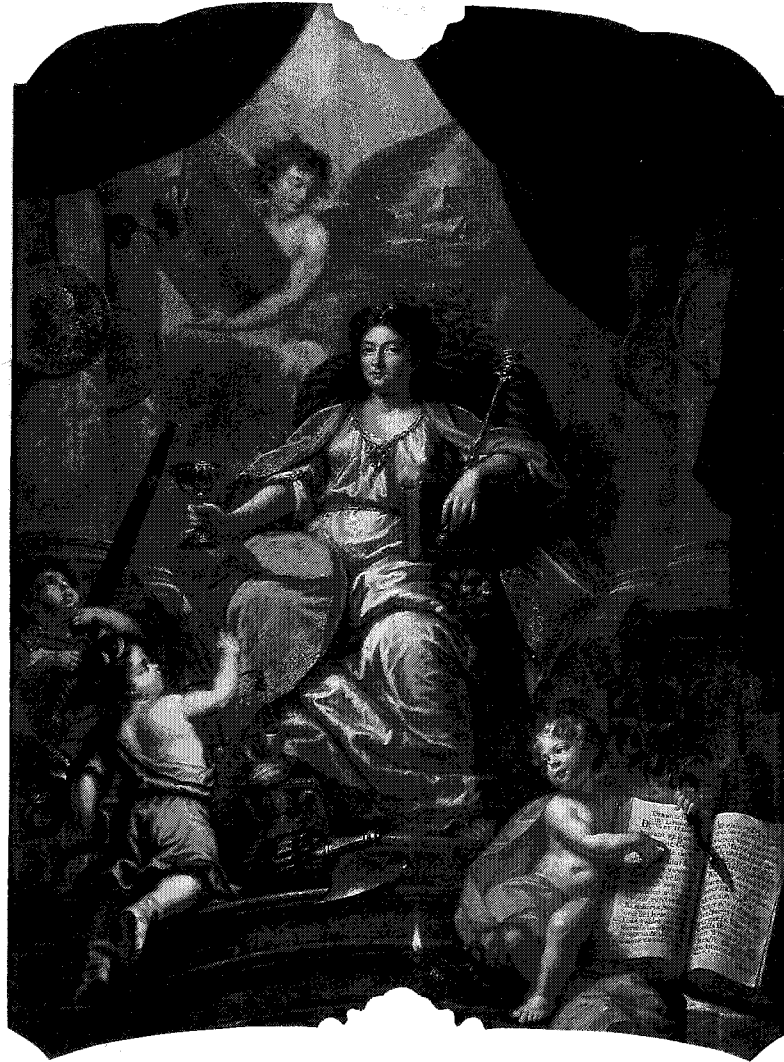
Verheyden frequently relies on certain sources he consulted, which are cited more or less literally, or adapted to suit his objectives. As he often neglects to specify his sources, they are clearly indicated here; for example: *Historie*, fol. 3, ll. 100 ('dat') - 102 ('schijnen') cited from Ripa, p. 139, *Memorie. Gebeugnisse*.

All of Verheyden's references, regardless of author, are followed by the relevant passages from the source to which he refers. Exceptions to this are the occasional references to passages from sources which are too general, and frequently also too long to be cited within the scope of this annotation; for instance, *SF*, fol. 3, which in connection with the bust of Pallas Athena refers to general texts on the goddess, such as Oudaen, pp. 304-06, *Pallas of Minerva*, and van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fols. 37v-38, *Van Pallas of Minerva*. On the assumption that the reader will have access to the Dutch Authorized Version, I have only cited biblical passages which are essential to a proper understanding of the text.

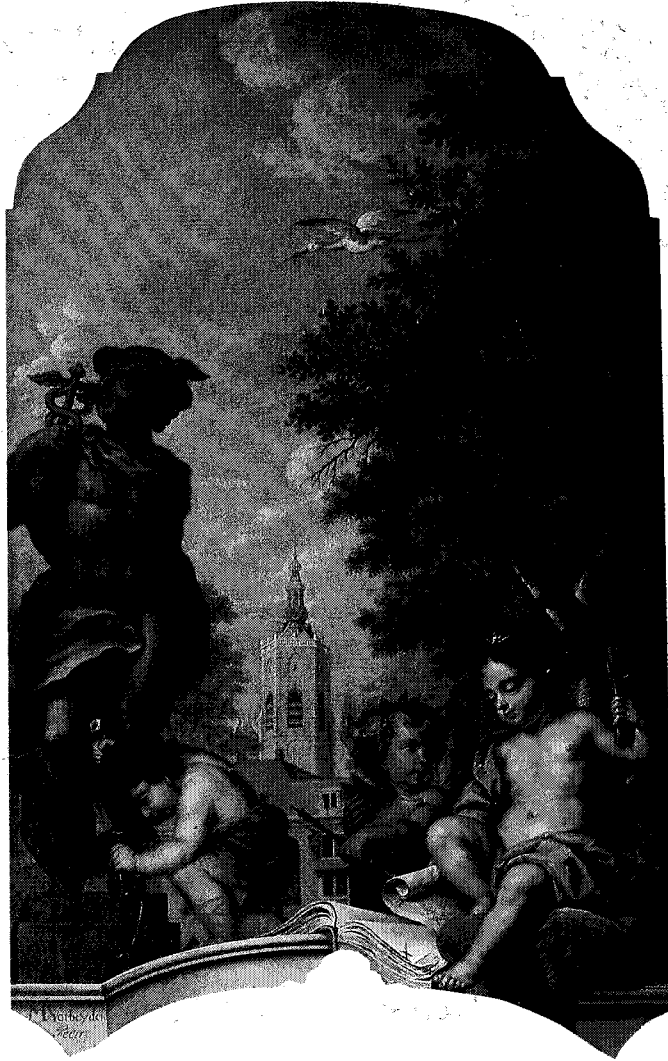
As far as Ripa is concerned, Verheyden generally refers only to the page from which he has quoted or borrowed ideas. However, it is not always immediately clear exactly which personification he is referring to, either because several personifications occur on one page, or because, for a number of concepts, Ripa proposes, under the same heading, various personifications which in the *Iconologia* sometimes occur on the same page. This annotation therefore uses the following system. For each reference to Ripa, the annotation specifies which personification is meant, and states the relevant page number(s). The page number referred to by Verheyden is always mentioned separately. In order to distinguish the latter from the other page numbers, which are in square brackets, Verheyden's page number is not bracketed; for example: Ripa, pp. [528-]529[-530], *Riconciliatione d'Amore. Vereeniginghe der Liefde*. In all other cases in this annotation, a page number in square brackets referring to any other source signifies that although Verheyden does not explicitly mention the page, he has nevertheless made use of it; for instance: Oudaen, pp. 304[-306]. In the case of a page from Ripa containing several personifications under the same heading, the personification in question is numbered

in the annotation. The 'headings' meant here are those which contain the same (Italian) key word. The numbering starts with the first occurrence of the key word. For example: Ripa, p. 172, *Religione, Godsdienst*, (3rd image).

In the annotation, the titles of publications which are mentioned more than once have been abbreviated. These titles in full are listed in the bibliography belonging to the appendices. This bibliography includes all sources used by Verheyden. In order to distinguish them from other titles, these sources are not marked with an asterisk. The titles of Verheyden's manuscripts have been abbreviated as follows: *De bevredigende Iustitie, ofte gerechtigheidt* (=Iustitie); *Saeculi Felicitas* (=SF); *Salus Hagensis* (=SH); *De Historie Studie, Vereenigt met Pictura, d'schilderkonst* (=Historie).



VII. Mattheus Verheyden, *Tableau of Fair Justice*, signed and dated 1736. The Hague, City Hall.



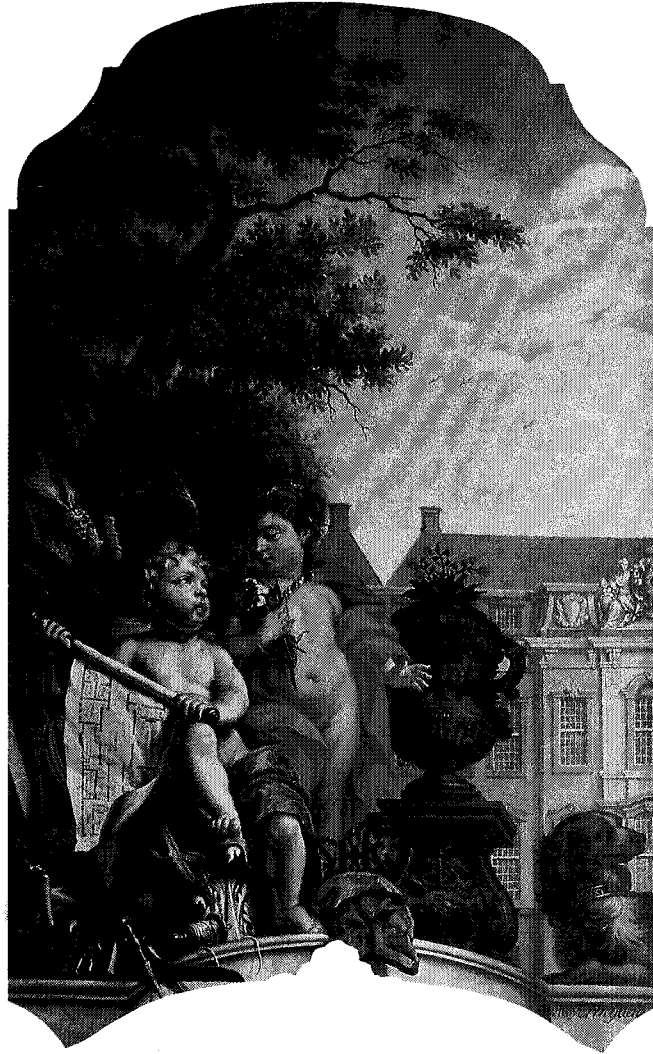
VIII. Mattheus Verheyden, *Salus Hagensis, or the blossoming and flourishing of Arts, Sciences, Trade, and Industry*, signed and dated 1737. The Hague, City Hall.

Appendix I

Tafereel Van de Bevredigende Iustitie, ofte Gerechtigheijdt

*Salus Hagensis, ofte het Groeijen en Bloeijen der Konsten, Wetenschappen,
Neringe en Hanteeringen*

Saeculi Felicitas Off de gelukkigheijt des Eeuws onder de goede Regeringe



IX. Mattheus Verheyden, *Saeculi Felicitas, Or the Century's good fortune under a prudent Administration*, signed. The Hague, City Hall.

[1]

1 Iustitiae partes sunt non violare homines:
Verecundiae non offendere.

Cicero, de officiis, lib. i, Cap. 28.¹

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,

5 Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,
& quae

ipse sibi tradit spectator.

Horatius, A.P.[?]. i80.²

[1^v]

Nos Populo damus.

10 Seneca.³

[1]

Tafereel

Exodus 25
vers 10.⁴

Van de Bevredigende Iustitie, ofte Gerechtigheidt,
(voor de schoorsteen) in het Comparitie Vertrek van
de WelEdele Aghtbare Magistraet van s'Graven-
15 hage, geijnventeert en geschildert door Matthaeus Ver-
heyden, Historie en Pourtrait schilder &c.

C. Exodus 20
cap: 39 vers
5, 8.⁵

Op een Verheve a Throon sit in eene Cierlijke
gesnede, en met goud gebruijnerde Rigter stoel,
de b godinne der gerechtigheidt, omhangen met
20 haren c geborduuden Purperen Mantel der gereg-
tigheidt.

Sij Rust op den d Kodex, of Handvestboek van Keijser Iusti-
nianus en zijne geleerde Mannen (waar onder Trebonianus,
Dorotheus en Theofilus de vermaerdste waren) zijn bijeen
25 verzamelt, vaststellende, Dat de Heerschappij en behoud
des Volks allerbest door goede wetten te staven waren.

Sij

a. Throon, zie Psalm 45 vers 7, 8, en Ps: 71 v^s: 19, en 97 v^s: 2, en 122 v^s: 5; Iesaia Cap. 9 vers 6 en 16 v: 5;
en Hebreë Cap: 4 vers 16; en Cekar Ripa, Iconologia, fol. 24.⁶

b. Godinne der Gerechtigheidt, sie Rom. Cap. 13; Ioachim Oudaen, Roomse Mog: pag 33i; en C: Ripa,
fol. 432.⁷

30 [c.] Geborduuden Purperen Mantel &c., ziet Jesaia Cap. 61 vers 10, 11, En Cap. 62 vers 1, 2; Ps: 45 v: 14.⁸
t Purper betekent, gebiet, Heerschappij, sie C: Ripa, fol. 135, Statigheijt Deftigheijt, fol. 484 en 596.⁹

d. Kodex (Corpus Iuris) &c., Hier van omstandigh W: Goeré in sijn Kerk en Wereldlijke Hist: Pag. 380
en 512; Proverbia Cap. 29 vers 4; Psalm 33 v: 4, 5, en 119 v: 144.¹⁰

(2)

Psalm 45
v: 7, 8.

Sij houd een e Gouden Scepter in de Hand
35 met het open Ooge daer boven.

De Oude Egijptenaren betekende door het Hieroglifiek
van den Scepter met het Open Oog het volstrekt
gezag der Regtvaerdigheid en Voorzigtigheid, welke
altijt waekzaam zijnde, de Daden der Menschen
40 doorzien, en het geene elk verdient hun regt-
matig doen wedervaren.¹²

In hare Regter Handt heeft zij een goude schaele, of
Kelk, gevult met Wijn, Presenteerende deselve aen
de jn geschil sijnde Partijen ter bevrediging en ver-
45 soeningh &c.; Zijnde de f schale, of Kelk, bij de
Ouden altijt gehouden voor een Teeken
van Vriendschap, Eendragt, vereeniging, Vreede, Heijl, Wel-
varen, behoudenis, genade &c., Werdende hier door
de geesten en gemoederen der twistende Partijen op-
50 gewekt om zich te vereenigen en in d'Vriendschap
te bevestigen &c.¹⁴

- e. Gouden Scepter betekent magt en aensien, zie C: Ripa, fol. 19, 20, Ernsthaftigheid, zie fol. 122, gebied, Heerschappij, fol. 135 en 148, groothijt, fol. 189, 196. Rustende met de Scepter op t Corpus Iuris betekent Kenisse der dingen, zie fol. 273, 285, 326, tweede linie onder, en 413, 433,
55 magt, bestiering, fol. 527, 1 lin: Verstand, fol. 546, 573; zie ook C: v: Mander, uijtb: der Figuren, fol. ii9.¹¹
f. Schale of Kelk, ziet C: Ripa, fol: 58, 97, 98, 156, 433, 529, 569, 577, 597, 598.¹³

(3)

openbaringen
Cap. 3 v: i8;
Psalm 45
vers io, i4,
i5.

De g Goude Diadema op haar Hooft, en int midden
een h Saphier met Paerlen bezet, Betekent aensien
60 ontzag &c. Het is ook, dat door de glants en
Edelheijt van 't goud en gesteente &c: De Hoogheid
en de Voortreffelijkheid van de Iustitie vertoont
werdt.¹⁷

Ezech: 3 v: 9.

De Goude i Keten om haer Hals, waar aen een k Diaman-
65 ten Hart hangt: Pierius Valerianus int xxxiv Boek
van zijne Hieroglyph: (of zinnebeelden) zegt, Dat de oude
Egijptenaers tot een Teken van een Raedsbesluit
een Herte afnaelden, om dat de Waeragtige
en Volmaekte Raedslag uijt het Herte komt &c.²⁰

Jesaia 64
vers i, 2.

70 Sij is in het l Wit gekleedt, welke de Zuijverheijt
van 't Regt betekent.

Sij

- g. Goude Diadema Betekende oudstijts Eere, ontzag, aenzien, zuijverheit,
sie C: Ripa, fol. 20, i84, 285, 433; En I. Oudaen R: M: pag. 63, ioo en io6.¹⁵
h. Saphier &c., sie Gerard de Lairisse, Pag. 288, 2. deel.¹⁶
75 i. Keten &c., zie C: Ripa, fol. zii, op Hulpen, opregt oordeel, fol. 376, Verkiesingh,
fol. 537; sie ook G: d: Laïresse, Pag. 27i en 274, 2 deel.¹⁸
k. Diamant &c., zie g: d: Laïresse, pag: 272, 2. deel;¹⁹ Ezechiel Cap. 3 vers 9.
l. Wit, zie Eccles: Cap. 9 vers 8; openbaringe Cap. 3 vers 4, 5, i8; C: Ripa, fol. 63, i32, i74
en zii, 432.²¹

(4)

80 Sij werdt m sittende Verbeeldt, om dat de Statigheidt
den Wijzen past, als mede om hare Waerdige en
bestendige Standt uijt te beelden, en hierom ist
dat de Regters het Regt al sittende uijtspreken.²³

Onder hare Regtervoet staet een Voetebank,
85 het welke het n Dier sphinx vertoont. Dit
sinnebeeldt geeft te kennen, dat geene saek
soo geheim en verborgen is, welke niet
door de Scherpheid des Oordeels en Verstand
van den Regter onwedersprekelijk klaer den
90 Menschen voor oogen kan gesteld worden.²⁵

Hare

m. Sij werd zittende afgemaelt, om dat het zitten den overheden en Magistraten eijgen is; en hier door
werd het ontzag en aensien en te gelijk de rusten, en gerustheijt des gemoeds vertoond, sie
C: Ripa, fol: 20 en 179, sie op Goedertierentheijt &c. en Iustitie na de Medaglie van Antonius
Pius, fol: 433; en I: Oudaen, R: M: Pag: 33i.²²

95 n. Het Dier Sphinx werd gehouden bij Pierius Valerianus, en toegepast op scherp-
sinnigheid des Verstands, sie C: Ripa, fol. 45i. Een omstandige beschrijving deses
Diers kan men lesen in I. Oudaen, R: M: Pag. 185, als mede in C: v: Manders uijtleg:
op de Metam: fol. 72, reg. 30. ²⁴

(5)

i Regum Cap. 7
v^s: 36 en Cap. 10
v^s: 18, 19.

Hare Regterstoel, alwaar sij op sit, is Cierlijk
100 gesneden. deszelfs Leuning-vertoon en o Leeuwen,
regte zinnebeelden van ontzag, Kragt, Edel-
moedigheid en van goedertierentheit, gelijk de
Natuurkundens seggen: Indien den Leeuw, een
Mensch met geweld Overwindt en ter Aarde
105 werpt, en hij als dan selve niet gewond is,
soo zal hij dien Man gantsch geen hinder
doen, maar hem alleen lugtiglijk schudden.²⁷

Twee p Overvloets Hoornen, wier Eijndens met Twee Lau-
rier Takken aen een gebonden zijn, staende
110 int midden op dezelve een Vuur, ofte offer vat
Vlammende, maken de Leuning, of boveneynde
des stoels ter Vercieringe. De Overvloets Hoornen
zijn bij de Ouden altijd 't sinnebeeldt geweest van d' Een-
dragt en Vreede, als voortteelsters van d' aengename
115 Vruchten. Daar Vereeniging is, daar wast Overvloet,
't welk de senuen sijn van de Eendragtige samen-
levinge der Burgeren, Vermids de Eendragt uijt de on-
derlinge Liefde Voortkomt.²⁹

De

o. Leeuwen: van den Leeuw en zijn beteekeningh ziet de uijtbeeldinge der
120 Figuren door Carel van Mander, fol. ii4; En C: Ripa, fol. 178, 188, 189 en 267, kragt bij de
Iustitie of het Regt, 437, Wakkerheit, 589; zie ook, D.I. Ionstons beschr: der Dieren,
Pag: 95.²⁶

p. Overvloets Hoornen bij C. Ripa gehouden voor Eendragt van vreede, zie fol. 97,
Langdurigheit, fol. 128; en C: v: Mander, uijt: der Fig: derde boek, fol. 121; Zie ook I. Oudaen, R: M:
125 fol. 331, 352, 386 en 388.²⁸

(6)

De q Laurier Takken zijn sinnebeelden
van goedertierenheijt, Eere, Deugt &c.

Proverbia Cap. 21
vers 3. Het offer, of Vlamme de r Vuurvat, Beteekent, datmen
de Barmhertigheidt int Regt altijt moet gebruiken
130 uijt oorsake van godsdienst, welke oudstijts met
offerhande gepleegt wierdt.³² Het betekent mede, dat
het gemoed des Regters (even als de Vlammen
na boven) altijt moet ten hemel gekeert zijn.³³

Proverbia Cap. 25
vers 5. Voor de Iustitie (ofte gerechtigheijt) op een der Trappen
135 van hare Throon legt de Romeijnsche s Fasces
&c., Secures, Bossel Roede, of Bondelen &c., welke
oudstijts van de scherp Regters voor de Burgermees-
teren en Magistraten wierden gedragen, om daer
mede te betekenen, Dat de Straffe niet moet na
140 blijven, alwaer 't Regt deselve vereijst; men moet
niet voorbarig sijn, maar Tijt geven, om 't oordeel
met Rijpen Rade te overwegen, 't welk bij het
binden van de Roede word te kennen gegeven.³⁵

Agter

- q. Laurier Takken: derselver betekenis ziet wijders in C: Ripa, op Regering,
145 fol. 24, Deugt, fol. 84, 86, Eere, fol. ii6, Ernshaftigheijt, fol. i22, goedertierend-
heid, en Tugt, fol. i79; sie ook I. Oudaen, fol. 333, 337 en 544.³⁰
r. Vuurvat: sie godsdienst in C: Ripa, fol. i72, i74, i75, goedertierenheijt, sie fol. i84
en i95, Regt, gerechtigheijt, fol. 432.³¹
s. d. Fasces &c., Hier van siet Polidoor Virgilius, 2^{de} Boek, derde Cap.; I. Oudaen, R. M. Pag. 542.
150 't beteekent ook bij C: Ripa, fol. 24, gebied, regering, Heerschappij, fol. i35, i79, Regt, gerechtigheijt,
fol. 432; de Bijl,
straffe, fol. 493, 6io.³⁴

(7)

Micha 6
vers 8, 9.

Agter de Iustitie vertoond zig een Bedaegden
t Engel met de v Wet gods en een w Eijsere Roede in
Handen, zinspelende op het gene Psalm 89 vers 3i
155 staet: Indien sij mijne insettingen niet en houden,
soo sal ik hare overtredingen met de Roede
besoeken.³⁹

Op de Voorgront, of op de eerste Trap van de
Throon der gerechtigheijt, vertoont sig (integenstel-
160 ling des straffen Engels met de Wet &c.) x den Engel
der genade, ofte des Nieuwen Verbonds, met het Evan-
gelium en olijftak in handen, Wijsende op de
Tekst[t]en, Johannis Cap: i vers i7; gal: Cap. 6. vers i6; Rom. 3 v: 24,
En Cap. i3.⁴⁰

Psalm 52
v^s: io;
Iesaia 32, v^s: i7;
C. Ripa, fol. 29, 74,
97, i56, 2ii,
293, 449, 569;
g: d: Lairisse, pag.
276, 2. deel.⁴¹

165 De ij Olijftak is een zinnebeeldt van Vreede &c.
de Oude Waren van meninge, dat door desselfs
tussen komst, de verschillen die Partijen onderling
met malkanderen hadden, beslegt en afgedaen
Wierden.⁴²

De

- 170 t. Engel, sie Handelinghe Cap. 7 vers 53; en galate 3 vers i9.
v. Wet gods, sie Exod. 20; Deut: 9 vers 9, io; Psalm i9 vers 8, 9, io, en 78 vers
5, 6, 7, en ii9; C: Ripa, fol. i47, 608.³⁷
w. Eijseren Roede, 2 Samuel Cap. 7 vers i4; Ezechiel Cap: 20 vers 37; Iesaia Cap. ii vers
4, 5; en C: Ripa, betekent door de Roede straffigheijt, Hardigheijt, fol. 493, Verbetering,
175 Bestraffing, fol. 524, 608.³⁸
x Den Engel der genade, sie Psalm 36 vers 8 tot 12, en 85 v^s: 8, En 89 v^s: 2, 3, 29, En 98
vers 2, 3, 9, En ioi v^s: i, En io3, en iiz v^s: 4, en i45 v^s: 7, i7; Ieremia 23 v^s: 5, 6; Daniel 9 v^s: 24; Hosea
Cap. 2 vers i7, i8, 22; Rom. 8 v^s: 2, 3, 4; Eph: 2 v^s: i4 tot i8.
ij. olijftak zie op de kant. d: outeurs.⁴³

Ps: i8 vers 29,
En i32 v^s: i7;
Job 29 v^s: 3.

180 De z Lamp bij de voeten des Engels Beteekent
Wijsheijt, Verstandt &c., zinspeelende op Psalm iig vers io5:
Uw Woort is een Lampe voor mijnen Voet
ende een Ligt voor mijnen Padt.

De A Regtsgeleerde Boeken, Zegels⁴⁶ &c. Beteekent
185 dat de kennisse der dingen door middel van
naerstige opmerkingen en Lesinge der Boeken
word verkregen, als mede dat den Regter
zijne ogen nòooijt van de heijlige wetten, noch
van de beschouwinge der suiijvere en Reijne
190 waerheijt afte wenden.⁴⁷

Op de andere seijde, of op de Derde Trap des Throons,
vertoont zig de B Voorzigtigheijt, houdende in de
eene Hand een C spiegel en D slangh, en in
de andere een E Weegschael.

Ter

195 z. d. Lamp, ziet C: van Mander, Uijtb: des fig: fol. iig; en g: d. Laïresse, 2 deel fol. 277.
volgens C: Ripa is de Lamp een zinnebeeld van ijver, zie fol. i4 en 223; Leeringe,
fol. 285 en 620.⁴⁴

A. Regtsgel: Boeken En hare betekenis, zie hier van nader C. Ripa,
fol: 20, 273, 376.⁴⁵

200 B. Voorzigtigheijt Vertoont zig int hemels blauw; de gerechtigheijt int wit, Purper
en goud; den Engel der genade int Rood &c., welke Koeleuren zelfs geordineert
zijn van den god der gerechtigheijt, zie Exodus Cap: 24,⁴⁸ en 25 vers 4, en Cap: 26 v^s: i, 3i, 36,
en Cap. 28 vers. 5, 6, 8, i5.

C. spiegel, zie C: Ripa, fol. 598, 6io, 6i3; C. v: Mander, fol. iig; g. d. lairis, 274.⁴⁹

205 D. Slang, is 't zinnebeelt van voorzigtigheijt volgens Mattheus Cap. io vers i6.

E. Weegschael, sie Proverbia Cap. ii v^s: i, Cap. 20 vers 23; Leviticus i9 v^s: 36;
Job i3 v^s: i8; Iesaia 58 vers i, 2; C: Ripa, fol. i44, 4i8, 444 en 445, zie Beatitudine.⁵⁰

(9)

Ps: 75 v^s: 3.

Romeijnen

Cap: i3

vers 4.

Regum 7. v^s:

21;⁵⁵

Ps: 75 v^s: 4

Ter Regter zijde der gerègtigheijt staet een

Kindie, dragende het F swaert van d'Iustitie,

210 dog in sijn scheede, Betekenende daar door
het niet Strenge Regt.

De G Pilaren van de Throon (waar aen de

H afbeeldsels in Medailje hangen van de Voor-
standers der wetten en geregtigheden) plagten

215 de Ouden de Iustitie, opregtigheid, Roem en Eere
mede uijt te drukken, gelijk men in de uijtge-
drukte getuijgenissen van veele Marmore Be-
graeffenissen en andere Oudheden, welke men
in Italien over al ziet, weshalven Alciatus zegt:

220 Dees beelden drucken uijt de suijscheit van 't Recht,
Waar in een oprecht Man met suijsche handen leght.⁵⁴

De

F. Swaert, siet *giustitia retta*, C: Ripa, fol. 433; en g: d: *laiesse*, Pag 74,
tweede deel.⁵¹

G. Pilaren, sie C: Ripa, fol. 433, 456, zie *seekerheijt*.⁵²

225 H. Afbeeldsels, namentlijk die van Keijzer Iustinianus, Trebonianus, Dorotheus,
en Theofilus.⁵³

(10)

Psalm 92
vers 13.

De I Palmboom in het Basreleve (op het Pedestal) vertoont. desselfs vruchten zijn van een evenmatige groote, gelijk de Bladeren. En daarom hebben
230 de Ouden daar mede Reght en Gerechtigheid willen betekenen. Behalven dat, bestaet de Palmboom uit een onvergankelijke stoffe, en veroudert of verandert niet soo light als andere Boomen, om meede tot een voorbeeld te dienen dat de Iustitie
235 ongekreuckt en onverandert gehandhaeft wordt. Hij verliest nooit zijne bladen, gelijk de Laurier, Olijf, Mirthus en andere Boomen, ten zij men ze met geweld daar van komt af te rukken; en wederstaet. allerlei gewelt en Swaerte die hem drukt, verstrekkende tot een Exempel dat de Regters ook also
240 behoren te doen, wederstaende met opregtigheid des gemoeds de geenen, welke hem met schoone woorden, giften, gaven, of kuijperijen, van hunne plichten zoeken af te trekken; g: d: Lairesse, f: 275, 2e: deel.⁵⁷

Proverbia 21
v^s: 15, en 29
v^s: 7, en Iesaia
Cap: 33 v^s: 15,
16, en Ezech.
Cap. 18 vers
5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Ps. 84, v^s: 12;
Ps: 89 vers
37.

245 De K Driehoek, ofte sonne in de Hoogte, is het volmaekste Beeld der Gerechtigheid.⁵⁹

De

1. van de Palm of Dadelboom zie omstandig, R: Dodonaeus, fol. 1283 tot 1286.⁵⁶
K. d: Driehoek &c., zie g: d. Lairesse, fol: 274, 2^{de} Deel; en C. v: Mander, uijtb: der
250 Figuren, fol. 119.⁵⁸

(ii)

Psalm 37
vers 6.

De L Hemelstralen op de Gerechtigheid betekent,
dat sonder godes Hulpe, de wijsheijt niet
verkregen werdt.

Alle dese voorwerpen ontfangen hun
255 Light en worden bestraelt van de
Sonne der Gerechtigheidt uijt de
Hoogte.

L. d. Hemelstralen op de geregtigheijt &c. Drukt de goddelijke Hulpe uijt,
die alle menschelijke verre overtreft, waar van Homerus zegt:
260 ijder mensch verlangt na de godlijke Hulpe;⁶⁰ als mede den
Koninklijke Propheet David in sijne Psalmen, op veele plaetsen dit
uijtdrukt, zie onder andere Ps. 4 vers. 2, En 7, En i8, en 97,⁶¹ &c.; En
C: Ripa, fol. 210, ziet Hulpe, en fol. 6ii, wetenschap.⁶²
Quid verum atque, decens curo & rogo &
Hor: L. I, Ep. i, 2. omnis in hoc sum.⁶³ Iob i3 vers i8.⁶⁴

M: Verheijden, i736.

Annotation Iustitiae

1. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, cap. xxviii, 'It is the function of justice not to do wrong to one's fellow-men' (trans. Walter Miller, The Loeb Classical Library).

2. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 180-82, 'Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes' (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library). This citation should presumably be read within the context of the Paragone. In this debate, in which painting competes with the other arts, particularly poetry and sculpture, da Vinci's *Trattato della Pittura* considered painting superior to poetry, for example since the former appeals to the noblest of the senses, i.e., sight, and the latter merely to the inferior sense of hearing. Verheyden may have quoted this passage to express his conviction that his painting of *Satisfactory Justice* is superior to his extensive description of the picture. This alone may be reasoned on the basis of another, recurrent argument in this discussion, viz., that while a single glance at the picture suffices to convey its complex contents, a description takes much more time and effort to communicate. For the Paragone see Leonardo da Vinci, *Paragone. A comparison of the arts*, with an introduction and English translation by Irma A. Richter, London etc. 1949, pp. 36-71, and for the citation from Horace, cf. C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, vol. 2, *The 'Ars Poetica'*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 244-47.

3. Passage from Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, cap. xcix, 17, 'A natura discedimus, populo nos damus nullius rei bono auctori et in hac re sicut in aliis omnibus inconstantissimo.' 'We abandon nature and surrender to the mob who are never good advisers in anything, and in this respect as in all others are most inconsistent' (trans. Richard M. Gummere, The Loeb Classical Library). Seneca goes on to say that 'People see a man who bears his grief bravely: they call him undutiful and savage-hearted; they see a man who collapses and clings to his dead: they call him womanish and weak. Everything, therefore, should be referred to reason.' This passage is from a letter to Marullus (of which Lucilius received a copy) on the death of his son, when Marullus allegedly succumbed to emotional, 'womanish' behavior. Seneca criticized this behavior and makes a distinction in his letter between 'the weeping that overcomes us,' which is natural and therefore acceptable, and the objectionable 'weeping we indulge in' - the weeping of the common man who, in this as in all other matters, is a bad counselor. If we relate this passage to the picture, it may be that Verheyden wished to exhort the Magistrate to be guided not by the voice of the populace but by reason, which should be paramount.

4. Presumably this biblical reference does not belong to the text.
5. These references are related to the color purple.
6. All biblical references in note *n* are related to justice or the administration of justice, with the exception of Hebr. 4:16, which refers to the throne of grace.
 Ripa, p. 24, *Aristocratia. Adelregeringe*, 'Het geseyde kleed en 't sitten in een prachtige zeetel, vol groote Majesteyt, vertoont het voorstel van de Edelheyt van een persoon van hooge staet [...].'
7. Rom. 13:1-4, 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil [...].'
 Rom. 13 was invoked to sanction the powers of the government and the Magistrate of The Hague. In this connection, see Bedaux et al., pp. 212-13.
 Oudaen, pp. 331[-332], *De Gerechtigheid*, '[...] op een penning van *Tiberius* [nr.] 6 zietmen een Vrouwenhoofd, met een gevlochten band geciert, en vorder bloot, met het byschrift IVSTITIA, want ongedekt vertoonden haar de Ouden, om dat de *Gerechtigheyt* niet vermomt, niet geveynst, en niet verborgen moet wezen. *Volk[aart]*: Geheel anders dan, als by onzen tyd, nu ze een doek voor d'oogen heeft. *Redeg[und]*: En zeker geheel oneygentlijk, want die niet en ziet aan wie, ziet ook niet wat: voorts om haar waardige en bestendige stand uyt te beelden zitse ('t zy ook misschien, om dat van ouds de Rechters, in 't recht uyt te spreken, plegen te zitten; [...].'
- Ripa, pp. 432[-433], Verheyden is presumably referring to *Iustitia. Gerechtigheyt, Recht. Nae 't gevoelen van Aulus Gellius*, since what is explicitly at issue here is a blindfolded Iustitia: 'Hebbende oogen van scherp gesicht [...] *Plato* seght dat de Iustitie of Gerechtigheyt alles siet, en datse van de oude Priesters genaemt was siendersche van alle dingen [...] Op welcke dingen wy wel acht sullen nemen, hoe dat die geene, die daer zijn Dienaers van de Iustitie of Recht, behooren te wesen: want het is noodigh dat zy met een scherp gesicht doordringen totte verborgen en verholten waerheyt [...].' On the basis of the considerations set out here by Oudaen and Ripa, Verheyden thus preferred for his painting a Iustitia without blindfold. For the iconography of the blindfold see G. Overdiep, 'Iustitia, waar is uw blinddoek?', in *Pro Excolendo iure patrio 1761-1961*, Groningen 1961, pp. 87-122.
8. Swords and scepters in olive branches and palms are embroidered in gold thread along the border of the garment. In the preliminary study, which refers to 'Den Mantel purper Fluweel, met goud geborduurt zinnebeeldich,' the border of the garment also has a pair of scales and the eye of justice. These symbols, all of which recur separately as attributes of Justice, are explained further on in Verheyden's text.
 Isaiah 62:1-2 should be 63:1-2 and Ps. 45:14 refers to 45:15. None of the biblical passages quoted mentions an embroidered purple cloak. However, the elements embroidered, purple, and cloak do occur separately.
9. Ripa, p. 135, *Giurisdittione. Gebiet, Heerschappye*, is robed in purple; p. 484, *Gravita. Statigheyt, Deftigheyt*, purple representing 'eere van Koninghlijcke en Adelijcke waardigheyt'; pp. 596[-597], *Eloquenza. Welsprekenthelyt*, 'Het purper kleed mette goude kroone op 't hoofd, is een klaer teecken, dat dese reedenen in 't

gemoed van diese hooren uytblincken, en houden te gelijk, heerschappie in de Menschlijke gemoederen.'

10. Verheyden unjustly equates here the 'Kodex' of the Emperor Justinian I to the 'Corpus Iuris.' The *Codex Iustinianus* is merely a part of a larger codification referred to as *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

Goeree, *De kerklyke en weereldlyke historien...*, Leiden 1730², p. 380, discusses the genesis of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*: 'Hy [Justinian] onder ander verval van Zaken, ziende, Dat de burger-Wetten, onder al die Troebelen en vermaste zeden der Regters, zoo zeer verbogen, verdraayt en gekneust waren, dat de Gerechtsgedingen na elks goeddunken Gevonnist wierden: koos hy zig tien deftige Mannen uyt, met last, al de Onnoodige en verwarde Wetten en Statuten af te schaffen, en de noodige, in een zuyver Kodex of *Handvest-Boek* by-een te zamelen; op dat men daar na alle Geschillen zou kunnen afdoen. Vaststellende, Dat de Heerschappye en behoud des Volks, allerbest door goede Wetten te staven waren. En gelyk onder deze Verzamelaars, inzonderheyd Trebonianus, Dorotheus en Theofilus, vermaard gebleven zyn: alzo hebben zy ook gezamentlyk 't bevel des keyzers zoo-neerstig uytgevoerd, Dat de meeste Wetten daar in overgebracht, tot op heden hebben stand gehouden.' It is obvious why Verheyden applied the images of precisely these three scholars to the tondi hanging from the columns on either side of Iustitia, and to which he added a fourth tondo containing the portrait of Justinian. The latter seems to have been based on a portrait of the Emperor Mauritius as depicted in an engraving by J. Goeree in Goeree, p. 386. The portraits have been placed as follows in relation to Iustitia (I will indicate them by their inscriptions): in front of Iustitia, on the right, 'D.N. IUSTINIANUS. AUG'; behind, on the right, 'DOROTHEUS'; in front of Iustitia, on the left, 'TREBONIANUS'; and behind, on the left, 'THEOFILUS.' Although the tondi are in a different context here, they recall an older iconography, where portraits of rulers were hung in places where justice was administered in the name of these same rulers (also cf. fol. 9 and comment H). Goeree, pp. 511-12, refer to the *Corpus Iuris Canonicum* [= *Canonici*], and not to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, which, incidentally, as Goeree also observes, affected the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. This probably explains the reference.

The book held by Justice bears the inscription 'Corpus Iuris' in the preliminary study but not in the painting.

The biblical passages relate to law and justice.

11. Ripa, pp. 19-20, *Autorita o Potesta. Aensien of Ontzag*, 'De scepter [...] betoont de wereltlycke macht en aensien'; p. 122, *Severita. Ernsthaftigheyd*, 'Zy hout met de rechter hand den Scepter, op de maniere als ofse iet geboot, zijnde de Ernsthaftige, altijd als Ernste en waerachtige, 't welck het eygen teycken is van de Rechters en Koningen, die den Scepter voeren en gebieden'; Ripa, p. 135, *Giurisdittione. Gebiet, Heerschappye*, scepter voor 'natuerlijke heerschappye'; pp. [147-]148, *Fede Christiana Catholica. nae de beschrijvinge van Fulgentius, en andere*, 'De Scepter [...] bediet niet anders als de Majesteyt en heerlijkheyd van ons Christen Geloof, wesende als een Koninginne en Heerscherinne [...]'; pp. [188-]189, *Magnanimita. Grootmoedigheyd*, 'De kroone, die zy op 't hoofd draeght, en de Scepter in de hand, daer van bediet de eene de Eedelheyd van de gedachten, en de Scepter, de macht om dieselve uyt te voeren, om te doen weten, dat sonder dese twee dingen, het onmooghlyck is, de Grootmoedigheyd te oefnen'; pp. 196[-197], *Dominio. Heerschappye*, 'De Scepter met een oogh daer op, met het uytsteeken van den arm en de rechter hand, is sonder eenige verklaeringe een teycken van Heerschappye [...]'; p. 273, *Cognitione. Kennisse der dingen*, de scepter en het boek beteken, 'dat de kennisse der dingen, door middel van naerstige opmerckinge en lesinge der boecken 't welck een

Heerschappie der ziele is, wort verkregen'; pp. [284-]285, *Dottrina. Leeringe* (1st image), 'De Scepter mette Son, daer boven, is een kenteycken van heerschappie, die de leeringe heeft over de verschrickinge van den Nacht der onwetenheyt'; pp. 326 [-327], *Valore. Manhaftigheyt, Dapperheyt* (1st image), 'De Scepter wortter gemaelt, want aen de vromigheyt moeten sich de regeeringen en de heerschappien, nae de reeden, buygen'; pp. [405-]413[-416], *Philosophia. Nae de Beschrijvinge van Boëtius [...]*, 'De scepter bediet, dat de Wijsheyt, die in dit werck van *Boëtius* voor de Philosophie wort genomen, een Koninginne is van alle vrye konsten, die van haer worden toegestelt,' a text which continues as follows on p. 414: 'Voor soo veele als de Philosophie in d'eene hand de Boecken, en in d'ander hand den Scepter houd, soo kan men oock dese bediedenisse geven, dat een Koningh die den Scepter over 't Volck voert, oock noodigh heeft de boecken te houden van de goede Zeeden en burgerlijke Wetten, om wel te regeeren, en het Krijgsgebiet wel te bestieren [...]'; p. 433, *Giustitia nae de Medaglie van Adrianus, Antoninus Pius, en Alexander*, 'De Scepter is een teycken van gebieden en de Werreld te bestieren'; pp. [526-]527, *Merito. Verdienst, Belooningh, Waerdigheyt*, 'Door den Scepter, wort verstaen de macht, om andere luyden te bestieren'; pp. [545-]546, *Intelletto. Verstand*, 'De Kroone en Scepter zijn teyckenen van Heerschappye, die 't Verstand voert over de gebreeken van onse ziele, en van onsen wille, die geen dingh aen neemt, ten zy datselve eerst in't Verstand is voorgesteld geweest'; p. 573, *Liberta. Vryheyt*, 'De Scepter bediet het aensien of ontsagh van de Vryheyt en van de Heerschappie, die zy van haer selve houd.'

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 119, *Scepter, oft Rijck-staf*, 'Den Rijck-staf / oft Coning-staf/ beteycke[n]t Coninglicke macht: d'Egyptische maecken op r'eynde des Scepters een open oogh / bewijsende / dat den Coningh / neffens zyn macht in zijn heerschen / moet wesen wacker / en toesichtich / oft opsichtich.' Also cf. note 12.

12. Lines 36-41 are taken from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 274, *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*. Also cf. note 11.

13. Ripa, p. 58, *Confermatione dell' Amicitia. Bevestinge van Vriendschap*, 'Zy wort gemaelt, datse een schaele met wijn aen een ander overlanght, om dat de schaele of beker, die zy malkanderen in de banketten toebrengen, en waer mede zy onderlinge den anderen tot drincken noodigen, niet alleen een gebruyck is van onse tijd, maer oock een oude gewooneyht. En hier door worden de geesten of gemoederen der vrienden, opgeweekt om sich te vereenigen, en in de vriendschap te bevestigen'; p. 97, *Concordia. Eendracht* (4th image), whose attribute is 'een schaele [...] waer in dat een Granaetappel leyt' (for the pomegranate as a symbol of concord see Ripa, p. 97, *Eendracht nae der Ouden uytbeeldinge*); p. 98, *Concordia, nae de Medaglie van Pupienus*, 'De Kelck bediet, dat Eendracht een heylige saecke is, diewelcke men sal eere en offerhande doen'; p. 156, *Gratia Divina. Godlijke Genaede*, 'De Kelck beteyckent mede de Genaede nae 't seggen van den Propheet, *die van mijn Kelck droncken is, hoe heerlijk is dieselve?* men kan oock de woorden *drinckt en wort droncken*, daer by stellen. Want wie in de Genaede Gods is, dieselve is altyt in de soetigheyt van sijne Liefde droncken. Overmits dese Dronckenschap soo krachtigh en sterck is, datse doet verjaegen en vergeten den dorst van de Werreltsche dingen, en sonder eenige ontsteltenisse, soo geeftse een geheele en volmaecte versaedinge'; p. 433, *Giustitia nae de Medaglie van Adrianus, Antoninus Pius, en Alexander*, '[...] de Kelck bediet, dat de Gerechtigheyt een Godlijke saecke is'; pp. [528-]529[-530], *Riconciliatione d'Amore. Vereeniginghe der Liefde*, 'De schaele hebben wy tot een beeldenisse van een vereeringe gestelt, want daer in doet men de geschencken, diemen wil vereeren. De geschenken vermogen seer veele in 't versoenen, en in de

Liefde wederom te vreden te stellen, en de verstoorde gemoederen te versachten, en die gramschap van de persoonen te stillen [...]'; p. 569, *Pace. Vreede* (3rd image), 'Oock wort door den Kelck verstaen, dat door den Vreede, het Geloove en de eere Gods, wort onderhouden'; p. 577, *Amicitia. Vriendschap* (4th image), which contains a reference to p. 58, *Bevestinge van Vriendschap* (see above); pp. 597[-598], *Salute. Welvaeren, Heyl, Behoudenis*, 'De Beecker of Kelck betoont, datmen door 't drincken dickwijls onse behoudenis ver krijght, als door de medicine en geneesdranken, die wy totten monde innemen'; p. 598, *Salute. Welvaeren, Heyl* (2nd image), 'In de Medaglie van *Antoninus Pius* wordt de behoudenis afgemaelt, dat zy in de rechter hand een Schaele houd, waer uyt zy een Slange te drincken geeft, hebbende in de slincker een roede, met het opschrift *Salus publica Aug.*'

14. Lines 48 ('Werdende') - 51, adaptation of Ripa, p. 58, *Confermatione dell' Amicitia. Bevestinge van Vriendschap* (cf. note 13).

15. Ripa, pp. [19-]20, *Autorita o Potesta. Aensien of Ontsaegh*, 'En soo betoonen, boven dat, de kleederen en kostle steenen, eere en aensien, in die geene, diese dragen'; pp. 184[-185], *Bonta. Goedigheyt*, 'Het goude kleed beteyckent goedheyt, alsoo 't goud het uytmuntenste is van alle metallen'; p. 285, *Dottrina. Leeringe* (2nd image), 'Het gulde kleed gelijckt de suiverheyt van de Leeringe, waer in de naeckte waerheyt gesocht wort, vertoonende te gelijck haere waerdicheyt'; pp. 433[-434], *Giustitia Divina. Godlijke Rechtvaerdigheyt*, 'Zy wort met goud gekleet, om door de eedelheden en den glans van dit metael, de hoogheyt en de voortreflijckheyt van de Iustitie te vertoonen.'

Oudaen, p. 63, '*Diadema* [...] om haare geringheid veracht'; p. 100, Aurelius is believed to have been the first Roman emperor to wear a diadem; p. 106, Constantine revived the custom, 't zy enkelijk als een paarlesnoer [...] of als een keten [...] van gesteente en paarlen onder een geregen, en zomtijds met een bagge op het voorhoofd gesloten [...],' as the diadem in the picture shows. The references to Oudaen correspond exactly to the places given in the entries under s.v. 'diadeem' (diadem) in Oudaen's register. This suggests, justifiably, that Verheyden used this register for his references.

16. De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 288, *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, 'In ouden tyden, zo wel als ten huidige dage, is de Saphiersteen in zeer groote achting gehouden: want het is zeker, dat door zyne zinbetekenis het opperbewind en Priesterschap wierd verbeeld [...].'

17. Lines 60 ('Het') - 63, freely rendered from Ripa, p. 433, *Giustitia Divina. Godlijke Rechtvaerdigheyt* (cf. note 15).

18. Ripa, pp. [210-]211, *Ajuto Hulpe*, 'Hy draeght een goude keeten, en door 't hangen van 't hert daer aen, wort verstaen, datmen niet alleen mette wercken der Barmhertigheyt een ander moet te hulpe komen, maer oock met raed (waer van 't hert een beeld is) om hem alsoo totten wegh der saligheyt te brengen'; p. 376, *Giuditio justo. Oprecht Oordeel*, whose attribute is '[...] eens Menschen hert, aen een keeten om de hals'; p. 537, *Elettione. Verkiesinge*, 'Zy draeght een goude keeten met een Hert daer aen, want *Pierius* verhaelt in 't xxxiv boeck, dat de Egyptenaers het Hert, voor een uytbeeldsel van den Raedslagh stelden, overmits de waere en volmaecte raedslagh uyt het Hert komt. Een saecke die in der waerheyt de Verkiesinge eygen is, wesende dieselve een voorstel en toestel van reeden en van den raedslagh.'

De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 271, *Tafereel op een zegenpraalenden Oorlogsbeld*, 'De goude Halsketen was by de Romeinen de belooninge en prys van dapperheid en bestendige deughd, en een teken dat de goede verdiensten niet alleen daar mede, maar ook met eer, glorie en achtbaarheid, wierden beloond [...] Het Hart, met edele gesteentens vercierd, 't welk aan deze *Bulla*, of goude Keten, tot op de borst af hing,

betekent dat goede raad en het heilzaam overleg uit het binnenste des harten voort-spruiten [...]; vol. 2, p. 274 (should be p. 275), *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*, 'De Egyptenaaren hebben ook de *Bulla*, of goude keeten, met het hert daar aan hangende, aan de Rechters des volks onder hen toegepast: waar door zy ons wilden vermaanen en te gemoed voeren, dat een Rechter geheel onzydig, en zonder aanzien van staat of persoon, recht moet spreken en oordeelen, en niet anders als de zuivere en onbevleete waarheid tot zyn eenigste voorwerp en doelwit hebben.'

19. De Lairese, vol. 2, pp. 272[-273], *Tafereel op een zegenpraalenden Oorlogsheld*, 'De Diamant is zonder tegenspreken de allerhardste, en door zyne flikkerende en van zich schietende stralen de schoonste en volmaaktste onder alle edele gesteenten; en het geene in den zelve het wonderbaarste en aanmerkenswaardigste is, hy wederstaat met een onveranderlyke standvastigheid de felle en alverteerende vlammen des vuurs, zonder van zyne deugd en voortreffelykheid het geringste te verliezen. Dit is ook de reden waarom hy voor het zinnebeeld van een onveranderlyke en heerlyke standvastigheid in voor-en tegenspoed word gebruikt: weshalven de Oudheid ook een bovennatuurlyke eigenschap aan hem gaf, te weeten, dat hy het hart van ydele vreeze en twyffelmoedigheid bevrydde, en den mensch nooit verlegen liet staan in zyne noodzaakelyke voorvallen, wanneer het tyd was, ook zelfs in de grootste gevaaren, om meester van zich zelve te zyn.'

20. Lines 64-69 freely rendered from Ripa, p. 537, *Elettione. Verkiezinge* (cf. note 18).

21. Ripa, pp. 63[-64], *Equita. Billijkheyt. nae de Medaglie van Gordianus*, 'In 't wit wortse geschildert, om datse door de oprechtigheyt van haer gemoed, sonder datse sich laet omkoopen, of door eygen baet bewegen, de verdiensten en gebreken van andere luyden oordeelt [...]; pp. 132[-133], *Oratione. Gebed*, 'De witte Mantel bediet, dat het Gebed, eenvoudigh, suyver, klaer en van gewicht en deftigheyt moet wesen, niet met een gemaecte fraeyigheyt'; p. 174, *Divinita. Godheyt*, 'De wittigheyt des kleeds bediet de suyverheyt van 't wesen, datter is in de drie Goddelijcke personen'; pp. 210[-211], *Ajuto. Hulpe*, 'Het witte kleet druckt uyt dat de handeligen moeten oprecht en suyver wesen, vry van alle eygen baet, 't welck tot des Menschen eigen nut gekeert sijnde, doet de eedele en deughdlijcke werken te rugge setten'; p. 432, *Giustitia. Recht, Gerechtigheyt*, 'In 't wit is zy gekleet, overmits de Rechter behoort te wesen sonder eenige vlacke van eygen baet, of van andere sucht, die het Recht kan schenden.'

22. Ripa, pp. 19[-20], *Autorita o Potesta Aensien of Ontsagh*, 'Zy word sittende afgemaelt, want het sitten is den Princen en Magistraeten eygen: En hier door wort het Ontsagh en Aensien, en te gelijk de ruste en gerustheyt des gemoeds vertoont, [thus far the text corresponds to Verheyden, ll. 91-92 ('vertoond')] want die dingen, diewelcke ontsagh en statigheyt vereysschen, behooren niet gehandelt te worden, ten zy met rijpe sittinge en beraet, gelijk de Rechters, en diewelcke macht hebben om te besluyten, vry te spreken, of veroordeelen, haere uytpraeck niet wettijck kan werden uytgevoert, ten zy datse sitten [...]; p. 179, *Clemenza & Moderatione. Goedertierentheyt en Tucht*, 'Zy wort sittende gemaelt, om de sachtmoedigheyt en ruste te vertoonen'; p. 433, *Giustitia nae de Medaglie van Adrianus, Antoninus Pius en Alexander*, 'Zy sit, om dat de staetigheyt den Wijsen past, en hierom mosten de Rechters het Recht al sittende uyt spreken.'

Oudaen, pp. 331[-332], *De Gerechtigheid*, '[...] om haar waardige en bestendige stand uyt te beelden zitse [i.e., Justice] ('t zy ook misschien, om dat van ouds de Rechters, in 't recht uyt te spreken, plegen te zitten).'

23. Lines 80-83 are a contamination of Ripa, p. 433, *Giustitia nae de Medaglie van*

Adrianus, Antoninus Pius, en Alexander (cf. note 22) and Oudaen, pp. 331-32 (cf. note 22).

24. Ripa, pp. 451[-452], *Acutezza del Ingegno. Scherpsinnigheyt des Verstands*, 'De Sphinx [...] kan men passen op de scherpigheyt des verstands: Want daer is ter Werld, geene saecke bedeckt en verborgen, die de kloeckheyt van 'sMenschen verstand, niet soude konnen ontdecken en verbreyden.'

Oudaen, pp. 185[-186], relates largely to the sphinx, according to Philostorgius's description. The braided hair of the sphinx in the painting is taken from the 'gebreyde haar-lokken' of the sphinx on a medal of Augustus (cf. Oudaen, p. 185 and pl. 37, nr. 1).

Van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fols. 72[-73^v], *Van Oedipus*.

25. Lines 86 ('geeft') - 90 taken without acknowledgment from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 276, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*, with the exception that in Verheyden the jurist is in fact a judge.

26. Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 114[-114^v] (the folio in question is no. 114 and not no. 113, which in van Mander is also numbered 114), *Van den Leeu, en zijn beteyckeneninghe*, the qualities represented by the lion include 'Wakentheyt,' 'Cracht,' 'Grootmoedicheydt,' and 'Goedertierenheyt.'

Ripa, pp. 178[-179], *Clemenza. Goedertierentheyt*, 'De Leeuw is een beeld van Goedertierentheyt, want gelijck de Natuyrkondigers seggen, indien de Leeuw een Mensch met geweld overwint en ter aerden werpt, en hy alsdan selve niet gewont is, soo sal hy dien Man gantsch geen hinder doen, maer hem alleen luchtighlijck schudden' (also cf. Jonston, below); pp. 188[-189], *Magnanimita. Grootmoedigheyt*, 'De Grootmoedige, zijn door de Poëten, by den Leeuw vergeleken, want hy vreest niet voor de macht van groote Dieren, de kleyne niet waerdigh achtende: hy is een milddadigh vergelder van 's anders weldaeden, en hy verberghet sich nimmermeer, wanneer hem de laegers vervolgen: en als hy sich vind ontdeckt, soo wijckt hy niet anders, dan dat hy 't gevaer, sonder de uysterste nood, niet wil ontwijken'; p. 189, *Grandezza e Robustezza d'Animo. Grootheyt en sterckheyt des gemoeds*, 'Aldus wort hy gemaelt, om dat de Egyptenaers klaerlijcken hebben uytgedrukt, datter geen Dier onder alle viervoetige en is dat grooter van gemoed is als een Leeuw, en over geen ding en en is meer verwonderens, als over sijn grootmoedigheyt, waer in hy seer doorluchtigh is, uytdruckende dit selve tot een moedigh en dapper teycken [...]'; p. 267, *Forza alla Giustitia. Kracht by de Iustitie of het Recht*, the lion representing power; pp. [436-]437[-438], *Ragione di Stato. Reeden van Staet*, 'Den Leeuw wort ter sijden gestelt, om dat dieselve van Natuyre die geene gelijck is, diewelcke door de Regeeringe van de Staet altijd soecken Meesters boven andere te zijn: als mede om te vertoonen de wackere bewaeringe, die men door de sterckheyt, om zijnen Staet te onderhouden, moet hebben'; p. 589, *Vigilanza. Wackerheyt* (4th image), 'De Leeuwe was by de Egyptenaers een teycken van Wackerheyt, want *Pierius* seyt dat de Leeuw nimmermeer zijn oogen geheel open houd, dan als hy slaapt [...].'

Jonston, p. 95, provides the same explanation as Ripa, pp. 178-179, *Clemenza. Goedertierentheyt* (see above).

27. Lines 102 ('gelijk') - 107 taken from Ripa, pp. 178-79, *Clemenza. Goedertierentheyt* (cf. note 26).

28. The combination of two cornucopias joined together and a barrel of fire is from Ripa, p. 97, *Concordia di Pace. Eendracht van Vreede*. Verheyden's explanation of the cornucopias are based on texts from the following personifications from Ripa:

- p. 97, *Concordia di Pace. Eendracht van Vreede*, 'In de ander hand sal zy een vat met vier hebben, vermits de Eendracht uyt de onderlinge Liefde voortkomt' (cf.

ll. 117-18). Transferring Ripa's explanation of the barrel of fire to the cornucopias is characteristic of Verheyden's approach to Ripa. For the meaning of the barrel of fire see fol. 6.

- p. 97, *Eendracht nae der Ouden uytbeeldinge*, 'De Granaetappels, bedieden by de Oude, *Eendracht*, om dat de Herten alsoo behooren te saemen gebonden te wesen, even als de Granaetappels haere korrels beslooten houden. Want waer vereeniginge is, daer wast Overvloed, 't welck de senuwen zyn om Burgerlijck en Eendrachtigh te leven' (cf. ll. 115-17). Here as well we find the same approach. The significance of the pomegranates is transferred to the cornucopias.

- p. 97, *Concordia. Eendracht* (3rd image), 'De bondel pijlen [...] bediet, de veelheyt der gemoederen die te saemen vereenicht zijn door den band der Liefde en oprechtigheyt: dewelcke swaerlijck te breecken zijn, alsse onder een ander haer kracht en sterckheyt behouden: daer na is de Eendracht een voortteelster van de aengenaeme vruchten [...]' (cf. ll. 114-15). This too shows the same approach.

Ripa, p. 128, *Eternita, nae de Medaglie van Titus*, the cornucopia representing 'een seeckere lange geduyrigheyt, die door de goede Regieringe heerkomt, diewelcke voornaemlijck bestaet, in 't versorgen van dingen, die tot het leven noodigh zijn [...]'.

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 121[-121^v], *Van Vrede, oft Eendracht*.

Oudaen, p. 331, the cornucopia as an attribute of Providence; p. 352, should be 353[-355], *D'overvloed*; p. 386, the reference is not correct; pp. 388[-389], the horn of plenty as an attribute of Concord.

29. Lines 114 ('voortteelsters') - 118 cited from various personifications in Ripa, cf. note 28.

30. Ripa, p. 24, *Aristocratia. Adelregeeringe*, 'Zy houd een Lauwerkroone, om te vertoonen de belooninge die zy plagh te geven, aen die geene die de Republique dienst hadden gedaen, als mede, in 't tegendeel, in 't straffen van de overtreders, 't welck door den bijl die 'er ter syden leyt, word uytgedruckt [...]' pp. [83-]84, *Virtu. Deughd* (1st image), 'De Lauwerkrans bediet, dat gelijk de Lauwer altijd groen, en nimmermeer van den blixem geraeckt wort, alsoo hout sich oock de Deughd in haer kracht, en wordt nimmermeer van eenige rampen, hoedanigh dieselve mogen wesen, te neder geslaegen [...]' p. 86, *Virtu Insuperabile. Onverwinnelijke Deughd of Sterckheyd*, '[...] en oock met den blixem, die, gelijk *Plinius* seght, met al haer macht, den Lauwer niet kan quetsen, gelijk oock de Deughd, met geene slinke toevallen, kan worden beschaedight'; pp. 116[-117], *Honore. Eere* (3rd image), 'De Lauwerkrans bediet de Wetenschap; want overmits dese boom altijd groene blaeders heeft, doch bitter van smaek, alsoo maecken oock de Wetenschappen den Mensche wel onsterflijck, niet te min worden dieselve niet verkregen sonder sweet en suyren arbeyt'; p. 122, *Severita. Ernsthaftigheyt*, 'Met een Lauwerkrans is zy gemaelt, om te vertoonen dat de dapperheyt en hoogheyt de Ernsthaftigheyt wel past, overmits de Keyseren, als treflijcke dappere en ernstige Mannen met den Lauwerkroon zyn gekroont geweest'; p. 179, *Clemenza & Moderatione. Goedertierentheyten Tucht*, 'De Lauwer-tack vertoont, dat die geene, die de Goden hadden vertoorent, hier mede wierden gesuyvert.'

Oudaen, pp. 332[-336], *Goedertierendheid of Barmhertigheyt*, 'Wy moeten deze Deugd met de eyndelijcke verbeelding der penningen afhandelen; op eene penning dan van *Julius Caesar* zietmen [...] het hoofd-beeld der *Goedertierendheid* tot de schouderen toe, met een laurier of olijftak voor zig, om dat hy aan zijn verwonne wederstrevers groote Goedertierenheyd bewees: gelijkse dus, op een penning van *Vespasianus* [...] gerustelijck op een zetel zit, met de gemelde tak in de hand, met het byschrift, CLEMENTIA AUGUSTI ter goedertierenheyden des Keyzers, om datse met de

laurier gereynigt wierden die gezondigt hadden'; p. 337, *D'eer*, laurel branch as an attribute of Honor and Virtue; p. 544, about the 'Waardigheid van op den Wagenzetel te zitten' which was adorned with laurel wreaths.

31. Ripa, [171-]172, *Religione. Godsdienst*, 'Het Vier druckt uyt de aendacht van ons suyver en oprecht gemoed tot God, 't welck het eygen is van de Religie'; pp. 174-75, *Pieta. Godvruchtigheyt*, 'De vlamme die zy op 't hoofd heeft, bediet het gemoed dat van de Liefde Gods ontstecken is, tot oeffeninge van de Godvruchtigheyt, die uytter natuere vlamt nae Hemelsche dingen'; pp. [183-]184, *Benignita. Goedertierentheyt*, 'Het Autaer met het Vier, bediet, datmen de Goeddadigheyt sal gebruycken uyt oorsaecke van Godsdienst, die insonderheyt met offerhanden gepleeght wort, of ten minsten niet sonder dieselve, sulx datmen soude in gevaer komen, alse wierde opgehouden of de Gerechtigheyt verhindert, om alsoo God selve nae te volgen, diewelcke te gelijk is Rechtvaardigh en Goedertieren'; pp. [194-]195[196], *Splendore del Nome. Heerlijckheyt of glans van een goede Naeme*, 'ontstecken fackel' representing 'de eere en glans van de oprechte en deughdlijcke Mannen'; p. 432, *Giustitia. Recht, Gerechtigheyt*, 'De vlamme Viers vertoont, dat het gemoed des Rechters, altijd moet ten Hemel gekeert zijn' (also cf. note 33).

32. Lines 128 ('datmen') - 131 ('wierdt') freely rendered from Ripa, pp. 183-84, *Benignita. Goedertierentheyt* (cf. note 31).

33. Lines 131 ('dat') - 133 cited from Ripa, p. 432, *Giustitia. Recht, Gerechtigheyt* (cf. note 31), with the addition of 'evenals de vlammen na boven.'

34. Polydorus Vergilius, *Waerachtige beschryvinghe...*, Amsterdam 1663, pp. 197-99; the third chapter of the second book, which contains the pages quoted, is about 'Driederley soorte van Regeringhe binnen Roomen, den oorspronck der Wapenen die de Koninghen voeren, en van wat boomen de roeden die men voor de Magistraten droegh, ghemaect werden, en wie eerst de Schattinge heeft inghestelt, den Tol geordineert, als oock wie de ghevanckenissen eerst heeft gemaect.' Polydorus Vergilius was an Italian literature scholar (1470-1555). His most important work, *De rerum inventoribus* (ed. princ. Rome 1499), was frequently translated.

Oudaen, pp. 542[543], *Bondelen*, '[...] tot een teeken van 't opperste recht van hals- en lijf straf [...].'

Ripa, p. 24, *Aristocratia. Adelregeeringe*, 'De bossel met te saemen gebonden roeden, drucken uyt, dat de Republique door de onderhoudinge en door een gemeene weldaet vereenight blijft'; p. 135, *Giurisdittione. Gebiet, Heerschappye*, '[...] en in d'ander hand droegh men de *Fasci Consulares*, of de Borgemeesters Roeden, die om de bijlen gebonden waeren, tot een teycken van heerschappye'; p. 179, *Clemenza. Goedertierentheyt, Goedaerdigheyt*, '[...] en de Wapenen ter aerden geworpen, mette Borgemeesters roeden die opgehangen zijn, bedieden, datmen tegen de misdadige geen strengigheyt van Recht wil gebruycken, als men wel konde [...]'; p. 432, *Giustitia. Recht, Gerechtigheyt*, 'De bossel met Roeden mette Bijl, worde van ouds, van den Scherprechters voor den Burgemeesteren en opperste Rechters gedragen: om te vertoonen, dat de straffe niet moet nae blijven, alwaer 't Recht dieselve vereischt: Men moet niet voorbarigh zijn, maer tijd geven om 't oordeel met rijpen raede te overwegen, 't welck by 't binden van de Roede wort te kennen gegeven' (also cf. note 35); p. 493, *Castigo. Straffe, die een ander wort aengedaen*, 'De Bijl is een Hieroglyphisch beeld van de straffe [...]'; p. 610, *Legge Civile. Burgerlijke Wet*, whose attribute is a 'bossel roeden.'

The reference in the margin to Plutarch must relate to his *Moralia*, 'Quaestiones Romanae,' 82, 'Why are the rods of the praetors carried in bundles with axes attached?' (trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, The Loeb Classical Library). Verheyden apparently took this reference from Oudaen, p. 542 (see above), who

extensively cites Plutarch on the point of the fasces, but without referring to the *Moralia*. This is probably why Verheyden only mentions Plutarch's name and not a place.

35. Lines 137-43 freely rendered from Ripa, p. 432, *Giustitia. Recht, Gerechtigheyt* (cf. note 34).

36. Cf. note 34.

37. Ripa, 147, *Fede Catholica. Catholijck of algemeen Geloof*, 'Het Boeck met de taefelen *Moysis* zyn het Oude en Nieuwe Testament te samen, waer in het voornaemste inhoud desselven, als de geboden *Christi*, en des Wets zijn begrepen, vermits hy niet gekomen is de Wet te ontbinden, maer om dieselve te vervullen'; pp. 608[-609], *Legge Vecchia. De Oude Wet*, has for attribute 'de taefelen van de Oude Wet, alwaer de tien geboden zijn in geschreven.'

38. Ripa, pp. 493[-494], *Rigore. Straffigheyt, Hardigheyt*, 'Dese Man wort hart en vreeslijck geschildert, om dat de strengigheyt altijd vreeslijck en onaengenaem is, met voornemen, om in de herten der Onderdaenen vreesse te brengen. Daerom wort de ysere Roede genomen voor de Hardigheyt van de Straffe, 't zy van woorden of daeden'; p. 524, *Correttione. Verbeteringe, Bestraffinge*, '[...] door de geessel versorgt zy, hoewel met misnoegen des lichaems, 't geene totte Burgerlijcke ommegangh behoort'; p. 608, *Legge Vecchia. De Oude Wet*, 'Mette rechter hand houdse de yseren roede [...] om de heerschappie te vertoonen, die de Wetten hebben over de sterflijcke Menschen, als mede de hardigheyt en straffe van dese Wet, die met de H. Schrift wel over een komt, als die daer seyt; *ghy sult haer regeren met een ysere roede*.'

39. Reference to Psalm 89:32-33.

40. The text in the open book in the painting corresponds to the texts of the biblical passages referred to in the manuscript. The text in the book is as follows (/ = end of line; the text in round brackets has been reconstructed):

'Evangelium) IOH. / Het Eerste Ca(pittel) / 17. [in the margin] De wet is doo(r) / Mosem gegee(n) / de Genade / ende de Waer- / he(id) is door Iesum / Christum geworden. / Gal. vi. v^s. xvi. [in the margin] Ende zoo vele als'er / na desen regel sullen / wandelen over dezel- / ve zal zijn Vrede en(de) / Barmhertigheyt ende / over het Israel Godts. / Rom. iii. v^s. xxiv. [in the margin] Ende worden om niet / Gerecht-veerdicht, uijt / sijne Genade door de Ver- / lossinge die in Chr. Iesu is. / Alle,, [catchword] Alle ziele zij d'Machten / over haer gestelt onder- / worpen, want daer en is / geen Macht dan van God: / (e)nde de Machten die / (d)aer zijn, die zijn / v(an) Godt geordineert. / Wan(t) sij is Godts Die- / naess(e) u ten goede, / maer indien gij quaet / doet, soo vreest: / Want sij en draegt / het Sweert niet te / vergeefs, Want sij is / Godts Dienaresse, / een Wreekster tot / Straffe den genen / die quaet doet, / Rom. xiii. v^s. 1.2.3.4 / Daer,, [catchword]'

41. Ripa, pp. [28-]29, *Misericordia. Barmhertigheyt*, 'De Olijfkrans diese op 't hooft heeft, is een waerachtigh beeld van barmhertigheyt volgens de H. Schriftuere, nae de welcke wy ons behooren te verplichten, totte kennisse van dese heylige deughd'; pp. [73-]74, *Unione Civile. Burgerlijcke Eendracht*, 'De Olijftack met de Mirth omwoelt, is een teycken van welbehagen, en wort genomen voor de onderlinge Eendracht en lieflijke Vreede der Burgeren'; p. 97, *Concordia. Eendracht* (3rd image), 'De Olijfkrans is een teycken van Vrede, die een werckinge is van d'Eendracht'; p. 156, *Gratia Divina. Godlijke Genaede*, 'De Olijf tak bediet de Vreede, diewelcke de Sondaer door kracht van dieselve Genaede, in de ziele gevoelt, als met God versoent zijnde'; pp. 211[-212], *Oeconomia. Huys-bestieringe*, 'De Olijfkrans bediet, dat een goed Huysbestierder voor al moet besorgen datter vreede in sijn Huys onderhouden worde'; p. 293, *Carita. Liefde* (3rd image), '[...] de Liefde,

door een Olijfboom, vertoont, alwaer eenige tacken waeren afgehouden, uyt wiens tronck een vochtigheyt quam vlieten, die eenige kruyderen en planten voedsel aenbracht: een deel van die selve quaemen uyten wortel van dien grooten boom, en een deel derselver, wat veerder. Ick gelove dat hy [Isidoro Roberti] hier door heeft willen afbeelden, dat de Liefde en die geene die deselve wil gebruycken, eenigh voetsel van sich selve sal afsnijden, om een ander 't selve mede te deelen [...]; p. 449, *Mansuetudine. Sachtmoeidigheyt*, 'De Olijf is een beeld van vrede en sachtmoedigheyt [...]; pp. [568-]569, *Pace. Vrede* (2nd image), 'De Olijf krans en de schoof kooren, zijn teyckens van Vrede [...]; p. 569, *Pace. Vrede* (3rd image), 'De Olijftack [...] wort geseyt dat van *Pallas*, de godinne van de Vrede en ruste, gevonden zy.'

De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 276, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*, 'Door de Olijftak, in zyne hand, word de vrede verstaan; also de Ouden van meeninge waren, dat door deszelfs tusschenkomst de verschillen, die partyen onderling met malkanderen hadden, beslegt en afgedaan wierden' (also cf. note 42).

The above-mentioned references were probably placed in the margin due to lack of space in note *ij*.

42. Lines 165-69 freely rendered from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 276 (cf. note 41).

43. See note 41.

44. Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 119^v, *De Lampe*, 'Een brandende Lampe/ beteyckent het leven des Menschen [...] de wakentheyt en nachtsche vlijt [...].'

De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 277, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*, 'De duisternisse vlied, als het licht van waare kennisse en verstand komt te schynen. Daarom word de Lamp meenigmaal voor de werken, die men by het licht van de zelve verricht, genomen: want het nachtwaaken is tot de studien en naarstige overdenkingen, ten aenzien van de rust en stilheid, zeer nut en eigen: waarom ook de Grieksche Dichters aan de nacht een naam gaven, welke zo veel als verstand, wysheid en vreugd aanbrengende betekent, ter oorzaak dat de geest alsdan zeer vaardig en bekwaam is om zich met naarstige studien en overdenkingen te oefenen [...].'

Ripa, p. 14, *Devotie. Aendacht, of Yver van Religie*, 'Devotie of innige aendacht, is een besonder bedrijf van de wille, diewelcke den mensche vaerdigh maect, om sich geheel totte gemeenschap met God over te geven, so wel mette genegentheyt als mette wercken: 't welck seer wel door het licht, door het knielen op de aerde, en de oogen ten hemel gekeert, wordt uytgedrukt'; pp. 223[-224], *Zelo. Yver*, 'De Yver is een seeckere Liefde van den Godsdienst, waer door men beherticht dat die dingen die totten heyligen Godsdienst behooren, in alle oprechtheyt, vaerdigheyt en naerstigheit mochten werden uytgevoert. Om dit uyt te drucken zijn twee dingen in dit beeld seer noodigh, te weten, den onwetenden te onderwijzen [symbolized by the burning lamp], en de dolingen te straffen en te verbeteren [...]; p. 285, *Dottrina. Leeringe* (2nd image), 'De vlamme die zy om leegh in de hand heeft, alwaer een jonksken een kaerse by ontsteect, is het licht der Wijsheyd, dat het swacke verstand wort mede gedeelt [...]; pp. 620[-621], *Sapienza. Wijsheyd*, 'De ontsteecken Lampe is het licht des verstands, 't welck door een besondere gave Godes, in onse ziele brand, sonder dat het verteert of vermindert wert.'

45. Ripa, pp. [19-]20, *Autorita. o Potesta. Aensien of Ontsagh*, 'En de boecken [...] betoonen in 't eerste het aensien der schrifture en der geleerden [...]; p. 273, *Cognitione. Kennisse der dingen*, 'Een Vrouwe die in haer rechter hand een roede of Scepter hout, en in de slincker een boeck: Waer door verstaen wort, dat de kennisse der dingen, door middel van naerstige opmerkinge en lesinge der boecken, 't welck een Heerschappie der ziele is, wort verkregen'; p. 376, *Giuditio justo. Oprecht Oordeel*, '[...] hebbende voor zijne voeten eenige Wet-boecken open geslagen: 't welck bediet dat een oprecht en volmaekt Rechter, behoort vroom te weesen, en

nimmermeer door eenige saecke, zijne oogen van de heylige Wetten, noch van de beschouwinge der suyvre en reyne Waerheyd, af te wenden.'

46. Unlike the preliminary study, the painting does not depict the seals. However, an official piece of paper is visible beneath the open book, with the partly legible word 'Burgerm[eesters]' written on it. Two more books can be seen in the picture. On the left is the *Inleydinge tot de Hollandsche regts-geleertheit* (Rotterdam 1631) by the great Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). This can be inferred from the words on the spine of this folio volume: 'H. GROTIUS Regtsgeleert.' The book probably corresponds to the folio volume lying in the foreground of the preliminary study, inscribed 'H. Grotius.' The other book, which bears the inscription 'Groot Caet,' is undoubtedly the *Groot placacet-boeck* whose complete title is: *Groot placacet-boeck, vervattende de placaten, ordonmantien ende edicten van de doorluchtige, hoogh mog. heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden ende vande ed. grootmog. heeren Staten van Hollandt en West-Vrieslant, mitsgaders vande ed. mog. heeren Staten van Zeelandt...* (9 vols., The Hague 1658-1796). It may correspond to the folio volume standing to the right of the other volumes in the preliminary study, which bears the title 'Groot Foliant Boek.' The study also depicts the work of another seventeenth-century Dutch jurist, '[S]imon] v[an] Leeuwe[n]' (1626-1682), who edited the third volume of the *Groot placacet-boeck*. This is probably an implicit reference by Verheyden to van Leeuwen's *Het Rooms-Hollands-recht, waar in de Roomse Wetten, met het buydendaagse Neerlands Regt...overeen gebracht werden...* (Leiden 1664).

47. Lines 188-90 freely rendered from Ripa, p. 376, *Giuditio justo. Oprecht Oordeel* (cf. note 45).

48. Exodus 24:10-11.

49. Ripa, pp. 598[-599], *Operatione perfetta. Volmaeckte Werckinge*, 'De Spiegel, waer in men de beelden siet, dieder in der daed niet in zijn, kan wesen een gelijk-nisse van ons verstand, waer door, nae ons believen, door de natuyrljcke bequaem-heynt onderstut zijnde, veele Ideen of eerste gedaenten van dingen, in onse herssen verschijnen, die niet konnen werden gesien; maer die door 't middel van de wercklijcke konst, en van gevoelijcke dingen, door gereetschappen, die in stoffe bestaen, konnen werden uytgevoert'; pp. 610[-611], *Scienza. Wetenschap* (1st image), 'De Spiegel vertoont het geene de Philosophen seggen, dat *scientia fit abstrahendo*, dat de Wetenschap geschiet aftreckende. Want de sinnen, in de toevallen te vatten, brengen aen 't verstand de kennisse van wesentijcke Ideaelsche voorbeeldingen: gelijk men in den Spiegel de toevallige gedaente siet van de wesentijcke dingen, en daer uyt haer wesen aenmerckt'; pp. [611-]613, *Scienza. Wetenschap* (3rd image), where the mirror has the same meaning as in the first image.

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 119, *Den Spiegel*, 'Den Spiegel houden wy veel voor de kennis onses selfs: doch wordt hy van outs ghehouden: voor valscheydt / vertoonende slechts den schijn van het waer wesen / maer de waerheydt selfs niet [...].'

De Lairesse, vol. 2, p. 274, *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*, 'De Spiegel in de hand der Voorzichtigheid betekent verbetering der zeden.'

50. Job 13:18 relates to law, but not to the pair of scales.

Isaiah 58:1-2 does not relate to the scales, but to justice.

Ripa, pp. 144[-146], *Vgualita. Gelijckheyt*, 'Door de Weeghschaele wort verstaen de oprechte en waerachtige rechtvaerdigheyt, die een ygelijck geeft, dat hem toebehoort'; p. 418, *Politica. Staet-bestieringe*, 'Een Vrouwe die metter rechter hand een Waeghschaele houdt. Want de *Politica* vereffent den staet van 't gemeene beste, also dat d'eene door d'ander op dese aerde wort verheven en onderstut [...]' ; pp. 444-45,

Beatitudine Quarta. De vierde Saligheyt, 'De schaelen worden, by gelijcknisse, voor de Gerechtigheyt genomen, om dat dieselve de swaere, en alle dingen, gelijck wegen, alsoo maectt oock dese, die een deughd is, de goederen des gemoeds effen, en stelt regulen voor de daeden der Menschen.'

51. Ripa, p. 433, *Giustitia Retta*. 't *Recht dat sich noch door vriendschap noch door haet laet buygen*, 'Het verheven swaard bediet, dat het Recht sich niet nae eenige sijde, 't zy door Haet of Vriendschap, van eenigh Persoon, hoedanigh die oock magh wesen, laet buygen.'

De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 74, should be p. 274, *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*, 'Het Zwaard betekent mede justitie en strengheid der wet. En in dien zin spreekt den Apostel, dat de Rechter is een dienaar Godts, en dat hem niet zonder oorzaake het zwaard in handen is gesteld, om die kwaad doen te straffen.'

Since in Ripa *Giustitia Rigorosa. Het strenge Recht* (p. 433) is shown with a drawn, or 'bloot,' sword, Verheyden expressly depicts a sheathed sword in order to represent 'het niet Strenge Regt.'

52. Ripa, pp. [432-]433, *Iustitia. Gerechtigheyt, Recht. Nae 't gevoelen van Aulus Gellius*, 'Om de Iustitie of het Recht, en de oprechtigheyt des gemoeds uyt te drucken, plachten de Oude te vertoonen een Waterkruyck, een Becken en een Pijlaer: gelijck men in de uytgedruckte getuyghnissen van veele Marmore begraeftissen en andere oudheeden, die men over al vind, kan sien. Derhalven seyt *Alciatus: Dees beelden drucken uyt de suuyverheyt van 't Recht, Waer in een oprecht Man, met suuyre handen leght*'; p. 456, *Sicurtà o Sicurezza. Seeckerheyt*, '[...] en daerom leuntse aen een Pijlaer, die daer vastigheyt bediet, en aen een Spiesse, die de Heerschappye en Hoogheyt uytdrukt, waer van het sorghlijck is, om ter aerden neder te storten, gelijck het daer-en-tegen een Deughd is, datmen weet sich in eere op te houden.'

53. Cf. note 10.

54. Lines 216 ('gelijk') - 221 freely rendered from Ripa, pp. 432-33, *Iustitia. Gerechtigheyt, Recht. Nae 't gevoelen van Aulus Gellius* (cf. note 52).

55. Reference to I King 7:21.

56. Rembertus Dodonaëus, or Dodoëns (1517-1585) was a historian and a man of letters, with a sound knowledge of medicine and particularly medicinal herbs. Verheyden alludes to his *Cruydt-boeck...*, Leiden 1618, vol. 6, pp. 1283-86. Dodoëns merely gives factual information about the palm, and refrains from symbolic interpretations.

57. Lines 227-44 almost literally cited from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 275, *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*.

58. De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 274, *Twede Tafereel op een Rechter*, 'Plutarchus verhaalt in zyne verhandeling van de Leere der Pithagoristen, dat de Driehoek het volmaaktste beeld der gerechtigheid is. Eenige voegen het getal van 1 in het midden, om dat men daar in de Godlyke betekenis des Allerhoogsten ziet.'

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 119, *Den dry-hoeck*, 'Hier by wort het recht oft Justitie geleken/ om dat den dry-hoeck over al ghe- lijck is.'

The preliminary study shows that the triangle was originally intended. Instead of the number 1 inside the triangle (see above de Lairese p. 274), Verheyden opted for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. In the painting, he finally omitted the triangle altogether, painting only a bright shaft of rays (cf. fol. 11).

59. Lines 245-46 freely rendered from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 274 (cf. note 58), with 'ofte sonne' added.

60. Lines 258 ('Drukt') - 260 ('Hulpe') cited from Ripa, pp. 210-11, *Ajuto. Hulpe* (cf. note 62).

61. Psalm 7:7.

Psalm 18:7.

Psalm 97 refers to the righteous judge, but does not mention help as meant in the text.

62. Ripa, pp. 210[-211], *Ajuto. Hulpe*, 'De heldre en klaere straele uyt den Hemel daelende en deese beeldenisse verlichtende, druckt de Godlijcke hulpe uyt, die alle Menschlijcke hulpe verre overtreft. Waer van oock *Homerus* seyt, *yder Mensch verlanght nae de Godlijcke hulpe*' (also cf. note 60); pp. 611[-613], *Scienza. Wetenschap* (3rd image), 'De straele of de Hemelsche glants bediet, dat of de Mensche schoon soo veele moeyte doet, als hy wil of kan, soo sal hy doch de Wijsheyt, sonder de Godlijcke hulpe, niet verkrijgen [...]' Cf. Bedaux et al., pp. 212-13, for an extensive discussion of the symbolism of the heavenly rays within the context of a sheriffs' courtroom.

63. Horace, *Epistulae*, 1, 11. In this first letter, Horace addresses his patron, Maecenas, and explains to him why he has decided to abandon lyrical poetry. He considers himself too old for such frivolity, and states that he has now completely devoted himself to philosophy. 'So now I lay aside my verses and all other toys [l. 10]. What is right and seemly is my study and pursuit, and to that am I wholly given [l. 11]' (trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, The Loeb Classical Library). By citing this passage, Verheyden seems to wish to identify with Horace. The painter, in turn, addresses his client, the Magistrate of The Hague, and explains that his sole concern in executing his commission was to depict what is true and correct. The reference in the margin to letter II seems erroneous, unless it relates to Horace's exhortation that the time had come to appreciate the importance of living in a seemly manner and devoting oneself to study and virtue. Also cf. note 64.

64. Job 13:18, 'Zie, ik zet de zaak uiteen; ik weet dat het recht aan mijn zijde is.' As he did with Horace (cf. note 63), Verheyden now seems to identify with the biblical figure Job. Just as Job believes in his innocence, certain that he is justified, Verheyden is convinced that his allegory of justice is correct. He, too, knows that he is justified.

[1]

Verklaring

- 1 Van het Tafereel, staende Boven de Deur
bezeijden de Schoorsteen, in het groote vertrek
van de WelEdele Aghtbare Magistraet
van s.Graven Hage, Geinventeert en geschildert
5 door M.V.H.¹
NB. Waer t Godlijck Regt de Vierschaer spant,
Den Goeden wil met Goed doen Loonen,
Geen Boosheid zonder straf verschonen,
Daer Bloeid en Volck, en VaderLandt.²
- van de
Konsten ziet
C. Ripa, fol. 257
tot 260.³
- 10 De zinnebeelden vertonen 't Salus Hagensis, ofte
het Groeijen en Bloeijen der Konsten, Wetenschappen,
Neringe en Hanteeringen &c.⁴
Op de voorgrondt, op een Witte Marmere Baluster, zit int
Hemelsch Blauw gekleed de a schilderkonst in de gedaente
15 van een Jongh schoon Kindt, Deftig, zedig, en opmer-
kende van wezen, ziende in een Konstboek, alwaer
zij een Tekening schijnt uijt te krijgen (zijnde de ordon-
nantie van het schoorsteenstuk).⁶ In hare Linkerhand
houd zij Palet en Penceelen.⁷
- Konstboek, zie
fol. 88.⁵
- Purper
Zie fol. ii7, 139, 219,
220, 285, 305, 307,
612.⁸
- 20 Zij sit op een Purper Fluweel Kussen; Betekent benevens
haar Blauwe Kleed, en goude HooftCieraet met een Iuweel
int midden, zuiverheid, memorie, Deftigheid, Aenzien, Gedult,
Hoope, Lof &c.⁹ Het Kastanje Bruijne Hair Betekent Bestendigheijt.¹⁰
Aen
- #### Uijtlegging
- 25 NB. De Drie eerste Regelen van het vers ziet op de Inhoudt van het schoorsteenstuk, en de Laetste
Regel op dese Twee Boven Deur stukken.
- a. Dat wij de schilderkonst Jong, schoon, deftig en opmerkende van wezen vertonen, is dat in de leugd en
Jonge Jaren de grootste kragt en standvastigheid onser geest betoont word.¹¹ 't Palet &c: die zij inde
linkerh:
houd, zijn het nodige dat Pictura van doen heeft.¹² Ernstig wert zij gemaelt van wegen de volheit
30 en Rijpe kennisse, welke den Konst schilder dient te bezitten.¹³ Het goude Hooft Cieraet int midde
met een Bagge of Iuweel: hiermede werd de zuiverheidt der Konst bedoelt, want gelijk het Goud onder
alle de metalen het Edelste is, alzo is de schilderkonst onder alle vernuiftigheden en Konsten van de
meeste waerden en aenzien.¹⁴ Het goudt geeft ook te kennen, dat wanneer den Konst schilder zijne
gedagten
zal voortbrengen, dewelke in t Hooft, of (zoo Plato in zijn Timaeus zegt) in de verstandelijke Deelen van
35 't gemoet bestaat, soo ist van node dat die gefineert zijn als 't goud, ten Eijnde die op alle Toetsen
mogen
Proef houden.¹⁵ Het goudgeel, het swart, of Kastanje Bruijn, Blauw en Purper Rood, betekenen de
Hoofdkoe-
leuren, welke door de soete Harmonie, en vereeniging der witte marmere Baluster, aengename helder-
heijt,
welke in alle de voorwerpen is waergenomen, ons gezigte vergenoegen.¹⁶

- C. Ripa, fol. 37.¹⁷ Aen de andere seijde vertoont zig stoltura, of de
 G. de Lairesse, gr. Schil- 40 Beeldhouwerijje Konst, Opmakende het Beeltenis van
 derboek, Pag. 223.¹⁸ Mercurius, den God der Konsten, Deugden en Negootien.
 Naest de Beeldhouwerijje leggen de nodige werktuijgen
 dier Konst.
- C. Ripa, fol. 27i.¹⁹ De Haen, naest zijnen Regter seijde (van Mercurius)
 45 Is een zinnebeeldt van Wakkerheid, Vlijt en Naer-
 stigheid, behorende tot de Konsten wetenschappen,
 en Negotien &c.

Naest

Aenmerkingen

- De Beeldhouwerijje Konst werkende met de Regter Knie gebogen, met zijn gereed-
 50 schap, bestaende in Eijzere beijtels, veijlen, Passer.&c: benevens hem leggende,
 Betekent de Dienstbaerheijt, welke hij gedurigh en onvermoeidt aen de Konst
 opoffert. zijn Feuljemort, of gloeijent geel Kleedt, sinspeelt, dat hij door den ge-
 durigen IJver en Arbeijt tot de Konst weijnig aght neemt op zijne uijter-
 lijke oppronkentheidt, ofte opschick.²⁰
- 55 Dat Mercurius bij de oude Heijdenen alijt gehouden is voor den God der
 Konsten, welsprekendheid, Deugden en Negotien, zulks Leest men in
 Carel van Mander, in sijn uijtlegging van Ovidius, Eerste Boeck, Pag. 8, 9, en in
 het Elfde Boek, Pag. 8i, alsmede in Ioachim Oudaen, Roomsche mog: Pag. 263 tot
 265, en 365, 366; En Cesar Ripa, Iconologia, fol. 4, i6i.²¹ Door de Caduceus ofte
 60 sijn slangenstaf, en'd vleugels, Betekent Vreede &c: (ziet Pag. 228, 27i, 3i3, 347,
 ziet ook C. v. Manders uijtb: der Figuren, fol: ii6) In welke de Konsten &c: wel het meeste bloeijen.²²
 De Haen betekent wakkerheijt &c:, zie C. v. Manders, uijtlegg: der Figuren, fol. ii3, ii6, ii7;
 En C. Ripa, Pag. 36; i33, i58, i62, 2i5, 346, 358, 588.²³
- 65 De Vierkante Blaeuwen Arduijnsteenen Pedestal, op welke het Hardsteenen Mer-
 curius Beeld staet, vertoont de Achtbaerheid en stantvastigheid der Wetten
 en Regulen, om door dezelve na behoren te spreken. En daarom wierd Mercurius
 Tetragonos, of vierkant, dat is vast en wijs geheten.
- 70 De staf, of Caduceus, geeft ook te kennen, dat de Tegenstrevige en Hartnekkige
 geweldnarijen zich moeten buijgen onder de wetten en vloeiende aengenaemheid der
 welsprekentheijt.
- Door de slangen, om de Roede geslingert, geeft de Oudheid ons te verstaen, dat de
 welsprekendheid, door schranderheid en voorzigtigheid verzeldt zijnde, de menschen
 gemakkelijk tot de Reden kan brengen.
- 75 De Vleugels aen 't hooft en Voeten werden hem toegevoegdt, om daer door de Vaer-
 digheid der Welsprekendheid te betekenen.²⁴

C. Ripa, fol. 337
en 338, Zie
Euterpe, een der
Nege Zanggodinnen.²⁵

Zie in zijne Sinne-
beelden, Pag. 68, 87.²⁷

C. Ripa, fol. 125,
op Eta dell. oro,
of goude Eeuw.³⁰

zie C. Bruijns Zuijd-
hollandsche Arkadia,
fol. 150, 151.³²

Naest de Schilderkunst vertoont zig de Musiek-
kunst, houdende in de Regterhandt een Musiekstuk,
waer uijt zij schijnt te zingen. In de Linkerhand heeft
sij een Houtbois, Rustende op een Muziek Boek.

80 Haar Hooft is verciert met een Rose Kransie.²⁶
Tot Lof van die Konst, laet zich den Uijtmundenden Dichter,
Jacob Zeeus, dus horen:

Zie hier de speelkunst afgebeeldt,
Een Kunst die zielen kan verrukken,
85 En hart, en Ooren Minzaam streelt &c.²⁸
En verder over de zangkunst:

O Zangkunst! Zoo geëert, geacht,
Dat gij Gods wonderlijke Macht
Verheerlijkt door ontelbre Tongen
90 In Zijnen Lof nooit Uitgesongen,
Hoe dringt gij door de Harten heen
van die op 't spoor der waerheid treen! &c.²⁹

Agter de schilder en Muziek Kunst, int verschiet, onder
de Eijken en Beuken Bomen,³¹ sietmen eenige Bijkorven
95 staen, Regte zinnebeelden van Kunst en Naerstigheid,
waer van den soetvloeiende zede Dichter C. Bruijn van
singt:

'T gaet wel, dat zoet geluid verzet de swarigheidt,
Ginds zien wij Korven, daer de Honing word bereidt;
100 Wanneer men eens den Aerd, en Eigenschap der Bijen,
Die uit gebloemte, en Kruijt, de soetste Lekkernijen,
Steeds zuijgen, overdenkt, wat Wondren zien wij niet,
In hunne Wakkerheid, en leerzaam Rijksgebied,
Bij hunne Waekzaamheid, blinkt ook hun voorsorg uit &c.³³

De

105 Aenmerking

De Rose jst zinnebeeld van aengenaemheidt, C. Ripa, fol. 17, 38, 52, 578.³⁴
Het Muziekstuk in hare Handt, als ook het Musiek boek waer op zij Rust,
Leert den waren Regel, hoe men de soeten Toon, op allerlei wijze, een
ander kan mede Deelen door de oogen.³⁵

110 Van de Bijen, hun Aert en Neerstigheijt &c., ziet C: Ripa, fol. 125, 259, 344, 346, 485.³⁶
De Eijken Bomen Betekenen Duersaemheijt, Deugt, verdienste en
beloning &c., zie C: Ripa, fol. 2, 84, 87, 527, 537, voorspoet, 567.³⁷

van d' oijevaer	De Oijevaer in de Lucht verbeeldt, hebbende zijn
zie I. oudaen, R. M.	Rob ⁴⁰ en Bek gevuldt met alles wat zij nodigh
Pag. 339, 368,	115 heeft om zijn Nest en Iongen (welke men int
als mede C. v. Mander,	Verschiet, op een der stads schoolen siet staen)
uijtb: der Fig: fol. iic;	Rijkelijken van gemak en voedsel te verzien,
C. Ripa, 153, zii. ³⁸	zinspeeldt op de Gemeenschap, Liefde, Zorge, Hul-
en g. d. Lairisse,	pe en Trouwe van de WelEdele Aghtbare
2. boek, fol. 295. ³⁹	120 Regeeringe van 's Gravenhage aen hunne
	Inwoonderen, ⁴¹ Welke stadt en Thoren ⁴² int ver-
	schiedt zig vertoondt, van welke vermakelijke
	Plaets Claes Bruijn dus zingt:
jn zijn kleefse	Dit is der Vorsten Haeg vol Lommer, dit is 't Hof,
Arkadia, fol. 87. ⁴³	125 Daer ieder Afgezant van spreekt met Roem en Lof. ⁴⁴

Finis.

De Oijevaer: Orus Apollo zegt, dat dit Dier de meeste Dankbaerheid aen zijne weldoenders, wanneer zij oud zijn, betoont, en op de plaets waer zij opgevoed worden, Rusten zij wederom hare Nest toe, versorgende dezelve van Eten ter

130 Tijt de Iongskens bekwam zijn om hare kost Elders te gaen zoeken. Daerom vercienden de Egiptenaers ook hare Scepters met dezen Vogel, en hielden de zelve in groote waerden, zie Plinius xviii. Boek, Cap: xiv.⁴⁵

De Romeijnen noemden dezen vogel de godvrugtige, zie I. Oudaen, R. M. fol. 368.⁴⁶

Ambrosius breid zig dus op haren Lof uit: Deze vogelen (segd hij) En schamen

135 zig niet de leeden van eenen Eerwaardigen Ouden te dragen, zijnde dit een Last van Godvrugtigheid, 't gene door een overvloedighe getuijgenissen soo bekent is geworden, datze den loon van een welvoegenden vergelding daer voor bekomen hebben &c.

De Ionge Oijevaers dragen hare afgeleefde en magteloze oudren op de

140 Vleugels, en brengen haer spijzen toe, tot een uijtsteekent voorbeeldt van Dankbaerheid en Godvrugtigheid,⁴⁷ zie I. Zeeus, zinnebeelden, fol. 84, 104.⁴⁸

Niet alleen word haer den Lof gegeven, datse dese Godvrugtige vergelding aen hare Magteloze oudren bewijzen, en datze een kragtiger genegentheijt, en sterkere Drift dan andere Dieren tot hare Ionge Dragen, Is gebleken

145 in dien groten Brand van Delft, 1536, Daer de moeder, niet siende hare Pluijmeloze Iongen uijt het Rokent Nest te redden, zig met uijtgespannen wieken op het zelvenederstreckte, om zoo veel mogelijk was hare Iongen te beschutten, tot datse met Nest en Iongen en al van de Vlam gevat en tot Assche verteert wierdt.⁴⁹

150 stads schoole: Van de zörge en Liefde der WelEdele Agtbare Magistraet aen de onvermogenenden Ieugt &c: kan men Lezen in de Keuren en ordonn: van s.g.Hage, Pagina, 364, N^o 120, gedrukt bij R. v. Kessel, 1735.⁵⁰

Annotation Salus Hagensis

1. This indicates that Verheyden is the inventor of the painting and, according to Iustitie, fol. [1], l. 15, of the mantel painting. We may therefore assume that he also invented the other overdoor piece.

2. It appears from the NB that these four lines of verse, possibly written by Verheyden himself, are the key to the overmantel painting as well as both overdoor pieces. From the poem we can deduce that the three pictures together constituted a separate program within the wider context of the entire decoration. I will therefore not dwell on the ceiling painting and the four corner pieces by Mattheus Terwesten in the same room. The account dated 1736, contains a description of the paintings. See note 12 of my introductory article.

For an extensive discussion of rewarding and punishing justice see Bedaux et al., pp. 183-222.

3. Cf. note 4.

4. Ripa, pp. [256-]257[-259], *Arte. Konste* (1st image); p. 259, *Arte. Konst* (2nd image); pp. 259-60, *Artificio of Konst-stuck*. For the meaning of 'Konsten' and 'Wetenschappen' see Ripa, pp. 256-59, *Arte. Konst*.

The plural of 'Hanteering' signifies the various sorts of occupation (crafts and trades). Frequently, in a fairly general sense, it is referred to in conjunction with 'neringen.'

5. Cf. note 6.

6. The 'Konstboek' derives from the personification *Attione Virtuosa. Deugblijck Bestaen* (Ripa, pp. 87-88), which has a book as an attribute, 'om dat de oefnigen soo wel van de konsten als wapenen, den Mensche beroemt en doorluchtigh maecken.' By depicting the (extant) preliminary study of the mantel painting as a page from the 'konstboek,' Verheyden relates the meaning of the latter attribute to his own work, too, by means of which he sought to achieve fame.

7. Except for the brushes and palette, the standard attributes of Painting, this personification is entirely different from the one in Ripa, pp. 452-53, *Pittura. Schilderkonst*.

8. Cf. note 9.

9. Ripa, pp. [116-]117, *Honore. Eere* (3rd image), '[...] het Purpre kleed, beeld de alderhoogste Eere af, wesende een Koningklijck cieraet'; p. 139, *Memoria. Gebeughnisse, Gedachtnisse*, 'Het ciersel op 't hoofd bediet, dat de Memorie een seer getrouwe opsluytster en bewaertster is van alle dingen, die onse sinnen door de fantasien of invallen werden vertoont'; pp. [217-]219, 220[-221], *Idaea. Eerste gedaen-*

te, *voorbeeldelijk ontwerp*, 'De goude hoep die zy om 't hoofd heeft, met eedel steenen en daer by een seer groote glans, bediet de volmaecktheyt van 't gemoed, wesende het aldervolmaeckste dat men vind'; pp. [284-]285, *Dottrina. Leeringe*, 't Purper root bediet deftigheyt, 't welcke een cieraet is van de leeringe'; p. 305, *Patienza. Lijdsaembeyt, Gedult* (3rd image), '[...] soo moet het kleed blaeu gemaect zijn, om dat het noch een weynigh levendighs by sich heeft, 't welck is de hoope [...]' Hope was included by Verheyden on account of Ripa, pp. 256-59, *Arte. Konste*, 'om dat een konstenaer altijd sal in hoope leven, van dat hy door zijne konst, tot meerder volmaecktheyt sal komen, en daer toe sal hy alle zijne vlijt en neerstigheyt aenleggen'; pp. [306-]307, *Lode. Lof*, 'De Bagge mette *Jaspis*, gelijk de Natuurschrijvers verhaelen, wort voor de bevalligheyt genomen, dese seggen dat dese steen, door een verborgen kracht, dier in gevonden wort, aengenaemheyt aenbrenght, in die, dieselve by sich draeght, en tot meerder klaerheyt, om dat het Lof dese kostele Bagge draeght'; pp. [611-]612[-613], *Scienza. Wetenschap* (3rd image), probably cited because of the gold borders on the blue garment of this personification, which represent the 'Wijsheyt van de Godlijcke dingen,' wisdom which can be acquired only through 'een gemoed, dat gesuyvert, schoon en helder is.'

It is characteristic of Verheyden to represent the two aspects of his personification, patience and hope, by the color blue. It is used for patience since the personification of patience, according to Ripa, is dressed in a blue garment, and for the latter since the blue of the robe symbolizes hope. Verheyden was not consistent in this use of allegory, where the attribute of a particular personification symbolizes or serves as a synecdoche for the personification itself, while at the same time retaining its own meaning within the personification. This is evident, for instance, from his above-mentioned reference to Ripa, pp. [306-]307, *Lode. Lof*. The aspect of praise is symbolized by a gem, because in Ripa Praise wears a gem as an attribute. However, the meaning which Ripa gives to the gem itself, i.e., that of 'bevalligheyt,' plays no further role here.

10. Taken from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*, 'Dat wy haar [the art of painting] met *Kastanjebruin* hair verbeelden, is om dat die koleur de beste, bestendigste en met die jaaren meest is overeenkomende.' Also cf. note 11.

11. Lines 27-28 ('word') freely cited from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.

12. Lines 28 ('die') - 29 ('heeft') freely cited from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 5, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.

13. Lines 29 ('Ernstig') - 30 ('bezitten') adaptation of Ripa, pp. 1[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van den Heere Giov. Zarantino Castellini*, 'Bedaeghd wort zy gemaelt, van wegen de volmaeckte en rijpe kennisse van de dingen die zy besit [...]'

14. Lines 30 ('Het goude') - 33 ('aenzien') adaptation of Ripa, pp. 70-71, *Architettura Militare. Krijghs Bouwkunst*, 'De goude keeten mette diamant wort haer gegeven, om dat gelijk het goud, onder alle metallē, het eedelste is, soo is de Krijghs Bouwkunst, onder alle vernuiftgheden, van de meeste waerde en kracht.'

15. Lines 33 ('Het goudt') - 36 ('houden') adaptation of Ripa, pp. 1[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van den Heere Giov. Zarantino Castellini*, 'Datse met goud gekroont is, geeft te kennen, dat wanneer 't verstand van den Academist zijne gedachten sal voortbrengen, de welcke in 't hoofd, of so *Plato* in zyne *Timaus* segt, in de verstandelijke deelen van 't gemoed bestaen, soo is 't van noode dat die gefineert zijn als 't goud, ten einde die op alle toutsen mogen proef houden.'

16. Lines 36 ('Het goudgeel') - 38 partly derived from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*. For the main colors also see de Lairese vol. 1, p. 206,

Van de Koleuren, en derzelver schikking, which, incidentally, emphasizes that black is not considered a color.

17. This personification is based partly on Ripa, p. 37, *Scoltura. Beeldhouwerie*. This applies to the traditional tools and the fact that Sculpture is careless of her appearance: 'Zij wort met een bevalligh wesen gemaelt, maer weynigh geciert, om dat, terwijl de mensch mette fantasien en gedachten besigh is, om de dingen, door de konst, mette natuere over een te brengen, en het een met het ander te doen gelijcken, soo bekommertse haer niet seer met het ciersel en opproncken van 't lichaem.' Verheyden identifies the attribute of a stone statue which, in Ripa, Sculpture holds in her right hand, as a statue of Mercury, which he allows Sculpture to work. As Mercury, the attribute constitutes another independent personification with attributes of its own.

18. De Lairese, vol. 2, pp. 223[-224], *Verhandeling van de Beeldhouwerie*. The first chapter (pp. 223-24) contains a short history of classical sculpture, but does not affect the personification's representation.

19. Ripa, p. 271, *Koetse van Mercurius*, the rooster representing 'wackerheyt.'

20. Cf. note 17.

21. Van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fols. 8-9, *Van Mercurius*; and fol. 81.

Oudaen, pp. 263-64, 365-66.

Ripa, pp. [1-]4, *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheit, van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, '[...] Mercurius, die de eerste vinder vande konsten en letteren geweest is'; pp. 161[-162], *Fama Chiara. Heldere Fame. nae de medaglie van Antoninus*, represented by Mercury.

22. Ripa, p. 228, *Italia & Roma*, the caduceus representing 'Welsprekentheyt, geleertheit en goede konsten'; p. 271, *Koetse van Mercurius*, caduceus, 'waer door Mercurius [...] den doden verweckte, seytmen, dat hy oock te gelijk, door zijne Welsprekentheyt de geheughnisse en 't verstand der Menschen kost opwecken'; pp. [311-]313, *Misura. De Maete, van den Heere Giov. Zaratini Castellini*, Mercury representing 'Welsprekentheyt en Wijsheyt'; p. 347, *Industria. Naerstigheyt, Vlijtigheyt*, the small wings attached to the caduceus representing 'snelligheyt'; p. 347, *Industria. Naerstigheyt*, the caduceus representing the raising of the dead.

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 116^v, *Mercurij gheslanghde roede*, the caduceus representing 'vrede en eendracht,' from which spring 'voorspoedt en overvloedicheyt.'

23. Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 113^v (wrongly numbered 114 in van Mander), *Mercurius*, 'Dat hy den Haen by hem heeft / is / om dat hy Godt der Coopmanschap / des gewins / en schier van allen consten is / daer de Menschen vlijtigh en waeckende in zyn / als den Haen / die voor de wakentheydt wort gehouden'; fol. 116^v, *De Kraen*, 'kraen' representing 'Wakentheydt' (no rooster); fols. 117^v[-118], *De Haen*, the rooster representing 'wakentheydt.'

Ripa, p. 36, *Sollecitudine. Bekommeringe* (2nd image) 'Een Haene worter by gedaen, wesende een bekommert dier, 't welck op sijn bepaelde uyren, wacker wort om te kraeyen [...]'; pp. [132-]133, *Oratione. Gebed* (1st image), the rooster representing 'wackerheyt'; p. 162, *Sanita. Gesondheyt* (1st image), the rooster representing 'wackerheyt'; pp. [344-]346, *Diligenza. Naerstigheyt, Vlijtigheyt* (1st image), 'De Haen is uyter Natuyre naerstigh en besorght, en in 't schrafelen en soecken vertoont hy groote naerstigheyt'; p. 358, *Studio. Oeffeningh in de Konsten, Studeeringe*, the rooster representing 'wackerheyt'; pp. 588[-589], *Vigilanza. Wackerheyt* (2nd image), the rooster representing 'wackerheyt.'

24. Lines 64-75 freely cited from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 276, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*. The main difference is found in the square stone, which in de

Lairesse is not further specified, and in Verheyden is made of blue stone.

25. Cf. note 26.

26. Ripa, p. 337, *Musica* (3rd image), '[...] hier en daer sullen briefkens zijn daer Musijck-noten op staen [...]'; p. 337, *Musica*, (4th image), 'Houdende op 't hoofd een krans van bloemen [...]'; pp. 338[-339], *Euterpe. Pijpsoet*, 'Een schoon Maeghdecken, dat haer hoofd met een krans van verscheyden bloemen omset heeft, en sal met beyde handen verscheyden instrumenten houden, daer men mede blaest. *Euterpe* bediet nae't Griex woord, vrolijck en lieflijck, om 't welbehagen dat zy heeft van de goede Geleertheyt, gelijk *Diodorus* seyt. Eenige willen dat dese *Musa* boven de *Dialectica* of Redenkavelingh zy, maer veele seggen, datse haer in de fluyt en andere blaes instrumenten vermaect, gelijk *Horatius* en *Virgilius* getuygen. De bloemkrans wort haer gegeven, om dat de Oude bloemkranssen, aen de Musen, plaghten te geven. En dat om de geneughlijckheyd van de eygen beteycknisse van haere naeme, en van de werckinge, van haar geluyt, uyt te drucken.'

'Musiekkonst' holds in her right hand one, or perhaps even two parts if we assume a recto and a verso of the part that is depicted (fig. 89). This would imply an extremely impractical and unusual method of notation. We might assume that the verso (which contains the words 'Adagio. Solo') relates to the vocal part, but then the text, curiously enough, would be on the recto, which bears the inscription 'Hautbois Primo' and therefore seems to relate to an instrumental part. Illogically, however, it also bears the word 'Cantate,' which one would expect in the solo vocal part. The words of the vocal part, which is dedicated to Euterpe, are as follows: 'O. Euterpe godinne der. e[dele] [S]angku[nst].' The musical notes, as far as these can be read, yield a curious, if not nonsensical, and by no means eighteenth-century melodic sequence. The clef (whose loop is visible on both recto and verso) is in all likelihood the French violin clef (G clef on the first line). The recto shows the '3' (or possibly '3/2?') of the time signature. Several bars are correctly noted in this time signature, but a few are not, which may be considered remarkable for a musician like Verheyden. It is almost certainly a nonexistent composition. However, the foregoing suggests a composition comprising a cantata for (solo) voice, two oboes, and basso continuo. I acknowledge with gratitude the help of W.H.J. Dekker, who was so kind as to examine this 'composition' more closely.

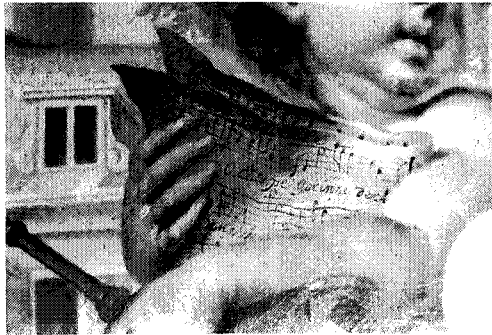
For the roses, whose meaning is an extension of the significance of the name Euterpe, see note 34.

It appears from the Aenmerking that for this personification Verheyden was also indebted to Ripa, p. 336, *Musica. Singhkonst*, cf. note 35.

27. Cf. note 28.

28. Jacob Zeeus (1686-1718) was a celebrated poet during his lifetime. Verheyden here cites from Zeeus's *Zinnebeelden*, included in *Gedichten*, ed. H. Poot, Delft 1721, p. 68, no. 20, 'Speelkunst,' lines 1-3. The poem continues as follows:

Gy ziet het beelt de harpsnaer drukken,
Dat speeltuig dat in vroeger tydt
Gehoort wiert voor Godts Kerkaltaeren.
De lauwer, Febus toegewydt,
Dat siersel van zyn blonde haeren
Bekroont myn beelt een valsche toon
Van wilde en ongeschikte klanken
Gaf Boksvoot Pan de zegekroon:
Dat oordeel mogt hy Midas danken;
Maer nooit verbleect een braeve geest
Voor zulk een Ezelachtigh beest.



89. Mattheus Verheyden, *Salus Hagensis, or the blossoming and flourishing of Arts, Sciences, Trade, and Industry*, detail. The Hague, City Hall.

Zinnebeelden contains 51 poems, of which the first 33, largely inspired by Ripa, were illustrated by F. Bleiswyck. For Zeeus see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3, cols. 1512-13. Also cf. note 29.

29 Zeeus, pp. 87-88, no. 29, 'Zangkunst,' lines 1-4, 13-14 (cf. note 28). Lines 5-12 of this poem read as follows:

Hoe noopt gy myne zangster aen
 Te wandelen in de ruime baen,
 Daer gy, omringt van tempelschaeren
 Den toon volgt van helt Davids snaren!
 Wiens Harp gy in uw arm omvat.
 Wat hebt ge een diamanten schat
 Beërft, als gy Godts heiligdommen
 Door heilige drift komt uit te brommen!

The lines 15-28 are as follows:

Maer wilt gy uwen zetel planten,
 Daer gy van dartele Bacchanten
 Gestreelt wordt, en den boezem raekt
 Van die in geile lusten blaekt;
 Wanneer de stinkende bordeelen
 Weergalmen op 't geluit der keelen,
 Dan zyt gy waerlyk ook de bron,
 Waer uit de welust eerst begon
 De vleyery den toom te vieren:
 Dies moet men ook de ziel versieren
 Waer op gy rust met uwe leên,
 Door een verleidende Sireen.
 Zoo kunt ge, ô Zangkunst, door uw gaeven
 Op 't spoor van deugt of ondeugt draeven.

30. Cf. note 31.

31. Ripa, p. 125, *Eta dell' Oro. De gulden Eeuwe, onder Saturnus*, 'zy sit onder de schaduwe van een Beuckenboom, overmits men in die geluckige tijden op geen kostele wooningen paste, sich genoegende om onder den lommer der Boomen te sitten.' For the oak trees see note 37.

32. Cf. note 33.

33. Claas Bruin (1671-1732) ranked among the edifying poets around Jan Luyken. His Arcadian works, which reflect little of the original eclogue, are more like historical and archaeological treatises. Verheyden here cites from *Kleefsche en Zuid-Hollandsche Arkadia, of dag-verhaal van twee reizen, in en omtrent die gewesten gedaan*, Amsterdam 1730². Lines 98-103 in Verheyden correspond to lines 31-36 on p. 150 in Bruin, and l. 104 to l. 11 on p. 151.

According to Bruin's *Arkadia*, which is more in the nature of a travelogue, the behavior of the bees mirrors that of the sovereign. Verheyden, as he frequently does, lifts the passage from its context. For Bruin see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 6, cols. 223-24.

Although Verheyden does not mention bees in his description, he depicts them near the hives in his painting. For the bees also see note 36.

34. Ripa, p. 17, *Gratia. Aengenaembeyd*, roses representing 'Aengenaemheyd';

p. 38, *Affabilita. Piacevolezze. Amabilita. Beleeftbeyt in 't spreekken. Gespraecksamebeyt. Vriendlijckheyt*, the rose representing 'aengenaemheyt'; pp. [49-]52[-56], *Venusta. Bevalligheyt, Aerdigheyt van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini* the rose representing 'Bevallijckheyt'; pp. 578[-579], *Allegrezza. Vrolijckheyt* (7th image), roses representing 'feest of Vrolijckheyt.' Also cf. note 26.

35. Lines 108-09 freely cited from Ripa, p. 336, *Musica. Singhkonst*. Also cf. note 26.

36. Ripa, p. 125, *Eta dell'Oro. De gulden Eeuwe, onder Saturnus*, where the bees represent abundance instead of industry, except perhaps in an indirect sense, i.e., the sense that abundance results from industry; p. 259, *Artificio of Konst-stuck*, the bees representing 'naerstigheyt'; pp. 344[-346], *Diligenza. Naerstigheyt, Vlijtigheyt*, the bee representing 'vlijtige Naerstigheyt of naerstige vlijtigheyt'; p. 346, *Industria. Naerstigheyt*, the bees representing 'naerstigheyt'; p. 485, *Gagliardezza. Sterckheyt, Wackerheyt, Frischeyt*, honeycombs and bees in connection with honey, which improves the intellect, prolongs life, and keeps the senses alert and keen.

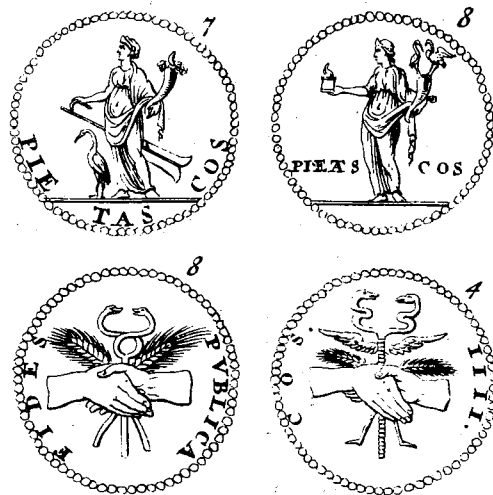
37. Ripa, pp. [1-]2[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, the oak tree representing 'geduricheit' and 'kracht'; p. 84, *Virtu. Deughd* (3rd image), 'Want gelijk de Eyckeboom tegen het bulderen der stormwinden onbeweeghlijk blijft, alsoo bleef oock de Deughd onbeweeghlijk tegens alles wat haer, van slinx bejegeningen, soude mogen ontmoeten'; pp. [86-]87, *Virtu Insuperabile. Onoverwinnelijcke Deughd of Sterckheyt*, 'De Eycke [...] bediet niet anders, dan dat de Deughd vast en bestandigh is, gelijk dese boom [...]'; p. 527, *Premio. Verdienst, Belooninge*, the oak branch representing 'profijt' as part of the reward; p. 537, *Elettione. Verkiesinge*, the oak tree representing 'Deughd'; pp. [565-] 567, *Prosperita della Vita. Voorspoet des levens, van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, 'De Eycken tronck [...] vertoont ons de voorspoet, voor soo veel de gesontheit en 't lange leven aengaet: Want de Eyckeboom, die een hart en onbederflijck houd heeft, en dat veele eeuwen geduyrt, wort voor een beeld van sterckheyt gehouden [...] Zy is oock een beeld van geduyrigheyt en van een langh leven, want de Eyckeboom leeft lange, en in haere laetste laeren verlanghtse haer leven, soo men die voor eenige tijd in d'aerde begraeft, en met waeter besprenght.'

38. Oudaen, p. 339, makes no mention of the stork; pp. [368-]369, the stork representing 'Godvruchtigheyt' toward his own offspring (also cf. notes 47 and 49). The next fragment from Oudaen may also have inspired Verheyden to include the flying stork in his allegory: 'Het zy dan om dusdanig een voorbeeld van *Godvruchtigheyt* aan jongen of ouderen bewezen, zy word van de Romeynen het beeld der *Godvruchtigheyt* bygevoegt: van *Cesar* hebben wy 't betoont: *Lucius Antonius, des Drymans* broeder, betoont het op zijn penningen zelve, want hier ziet men het beeld van de GODVRUCHTIGHEID, eens 7 met een *Oyevaar* voor haar voeten, en eens 8 [see fig. 90] daarze in d'eene hand een altaar, en in d'andere een overvloeds horen houd, waar op twee *Oyevaars* zitten, met het byschrift PIETAS COS *Godvruchtigheyt Burgemeester*; want met de naam PIETAS, *Godvruchtigheyt*, naemde hy zig zelve om de trou welken hy aan zijn Broeder *Markus Antonius* had bewezen, daar hy Burgemeester geworden hier de gedachtenis van bewaart.'

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 116^v, *Den Oyevaer*, the stork representing 'Bermherticheyt.'

Ripa, pp. [152-]153, *Commertio della vita Humana. Gemeenschap van 's Menschen leven*, the stork representing mutual aid; pp. [210-]211, *Ajuto. Hulpe*, the stork representing 'Godsdienstigheyt' and 'Hulpe.'

39. De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 295, *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, 'Niet minder aanmerkelyk is het, dat de H: Schriften ons op een zinverbeeldelyke wyze, spree-



90. Illustration from: Joachim Oudaan,
Roomsche moogentheid..., Leiden 1723, pl. 79, detail.
91. Illustration from: Joachim Oudaan,
Roomsche moogentheid..., Leiden 1723, pl. 88, detail.
92. Illustration from: Joachim Oudaan,
Roomsche moogentheid..., Leiden 1723, pl. 76, detail.

kende van den Oyevaar, daar mede te verstaan geeven een gezuiverd verstand, en een geest boven alle waereldsche zaaken verheven. Want den Oyevaar plaatst altyd zyn nest op de spitsen der verhevenste gevelen, om niet van de listige en wilde dieren der aarde verslonden te worden: en zyne jongen daar op uitbroeiende, heeft hy een eeuwigen en altyd duurenden oorlog met de slangen; welke gestadig met den buik op de aarde, en in hollen der zelve kruipende, het zinnebeeld van allerley vuile, geile, en lasterlyke begeerlykheden zyn. De mensch dan, volgende het voorbeeld van den Oyevaar, dient met recht zyne gedachten opwaarts te heffen, en zyne woonplaatse te zoeken in den hemel, alwaar hy van alle de listige laagen des vleesch es en deszelfs woeste en ongeregelde genegentheden, mitsgaders van de dood, duivel, en hel, eeuwiglyk bevryd zal weezen.'

40. 'Rob' means stomach.

41. The fact that the stork's nest is on top of the school (the building bears the inscription STADS SCHOOL [town school]) is a direct reference to the duties of the bailiff and burgomasters toward the schools, for which they were ultimately responsible. This is apparent from the 'School Ordre ende Instructie, waar naar de Schoolmeesters ter onderwyzinge van de Arme Jeugd, by Schout en Burgermeesteren van 's Gravenhage, over de Stads-Schoolen aengesteld, zig zullen hebben te reguleren' dating from November 1, 1729. For this see *Keuren en ordonnan tien van 'sGraven-Hage...*, The Hague 1735, p. 364, no. 120, and also Jacob de Riemer, *Beschryving van 'sGraven-Hage...*, Delft and The Hague 1730-39, vol. 1, p. 602. Moreover, the stork elicits a strong association with the arms of The Hague.

42. The reference is to the tower of the Grote Kerk or St. Jacobskerk.

43. Cf. note 44.

44. Lines 124-25 cited from Bruin, p. 87, lines 25-26. For Bruin see note 33.

45. Lines 127-32 freely cited from Ripa, p. 80, *Gratitudine. Dankbaerheyt*, 'Ouders of voortteelders' which Verheyden may have changed into 'weldoenders,' to express the gratitude of the 'Inwoonderen' toward the Magistrate of The Hague.

46. Cf. note 38.

47. Lines 134-41 ('godvrugtigheid'), cited from Oudaen, p. 368.

48. Zeeus, pp. [83-]84, no. 27, 'Dankbaerheit,' lines 9-10: 'Zoo blinkt de Dankbaerheit ook uit in de oyevaar/ Die vaak de hulp erkent van zyn gebrekkige ouders'; p. 104, 'Ojevaer':

Nooit is de deugt zoo stout, noit sterker
 Dan daer zy dankbre zielen vindt.
 Wat stinkt zoo vuil in 's afgronts kerker
 Als d'aem van een ondankbaer kint?
 Waer magh d'ondankbaerheit vernachten?
 Men ziet (want ze is gehaet alom)
 De domste heidens haer verachten;
 En echter heerscht ze in 't Christendom,
 Dat jaerlyx, magh op 't voorbeelt staren
 Van deugterkennende Oievaren.

For Zeeus see note 28.

49. Lines 142-49 cited from Oudaen, p. 368 (also cf. note 38).

50. Cf. note 41.

[1]

verklaringh

- I: oudaen, R: M:
Pag. 391.²
- C: Ripa, sie Speranza Hope, Pag: 205, 572 en fol. 151, zie Felicitas Publica, algemene geluksaligheijdt.³
- Pag. 572.⁵
- 1 Van het Tafereel staende boven de Deur ter Regter seijde, In het groote vertrek van de WelEdele Agtbare Magistraet van 's hage, verbeeldende Saeculi Felicitas¹
- 5 Off de gelukkigheijt des Eeuws onder de goede Regeringe &³. In het Midden des Tafereels vertoont Sig Salus Hagensis, ofte het altijt bloeiende welvaren van 'sgravenhage, afgebeeldt door een Iong schoon kindt, Levendig en vrolijk van wesen. sij heeft Kastanje bruijn Hair. Een Krans van
- 10 uijsprijtende Zaden, Bloemen en Vrugten, verciert haer Hooft, Betekenende de Hoope van alles goeds.⁴ In hare Regterhant heeft sij een Bouquet van het altijt Bloeiende kruijdt Semper Vivum, en de altijt Bloeiende Amerant, ofte Fluwele Bloem, Lelij en Lauwrier.
- 15 Haere kledinge is koeleur de Rose, Betekenende aengenaemheijt en vrolijkheijt.⁶

Naest

uitlegginge

- Semper Vivum Betekent d'altijt duersaemheijt, sijnde dese Bloemen off kruijd altijt groen, zie C: Ripa, fol: 66, 200, 290.⁷
- 20 De Amerant is een altijt durende bloeme die buijten 't gebruik van andere Bloemen vastighijt, sterkheijt en onderhouding betekent, en door hare besonderen aart, soo verdort sij noijt, maer staet altijt schoon, zie C: Ripa, fol. 7, 87, 368, 485, 563; Plinius xxi Boek.⁸
- 25 D' Lelij: met dese Bloemen werd de Hoope vertoont, dewelke een verwagtinge is van 't goede, gelijk in 't tegendeel de vreesse een ontroeringe is van 't gemoed, in de verwagting van 't kwaed; waer over als wij de Bloemen sien, soo plagten wij na de vrugte te hopen, dewelke ons in korte dagen door den loop van de natuur word gegeven om onse Hope niet te bedriegen, en hoewel alle Bloemen in ons de Hope verwekken, niet te min soo brengt de Lelij, als een bloeme die 't aengenaemste is, boven alle andere de meeste Hope aen, gelijk Pierius Valerianus segt.⁹
- 30 D' Lauwrier heeft die eigenschap, dat deselve na de strengigheijt van den winter nogtans de groenighijt aen hare blaeders behout, sie C: Ripa, 84, 158, 229; I: oudaen, R: M: Pag. 424.¹⁰

[2]

I: Oudaen, R: M: 392
en 263.¹²

Naest haer staet een gegote konstvaes ofte Pot, van ge-
bronsde kouleur, alwaer het Semper Vivum¹¹ in groeijt,
op wier Blauw Arduijnstene Pedestal men in Basre-
lieff siet uijtgehouden Twee handen in Elkanderen, in 't
35 midden de vrede staff van Mercurius, benevens Twee koo-
ren Halmen om te betekenen, dat door Vrede en Trouw,
overvloed en Zegen Voorkomt.¹³
Het Cierlijke Eijsere Hek aen gemelde Pedestal vast, dienen-
de tot cieraed der Baluster, betekent de kunst van smee-
40 den.

Proverbia 24, vers 3, 4.¹⁴
C: Ripa, fol. 70,
zie bouwkonst.¹⁵

De Bouwkonst, naest haer sittende op het konstig
Capiteel Romana off Composita, zinspeelt op de Bouw-
ordre van het Raedhuijs welke sig in 't verschiet ver-
toont.¹⁶

45 Hij komt in bij zijn Handen haer vertonen,
De schets waer in de gront bestaet; NB.
En hoe de kunst, die 't werk moet kroonen,
De regels niet te buijten gaet.
Het werktuig geestig uijtgevonden,

50 Zoo nodig in de bouwkonst gronden,
Legt op de voorgrond bij de handt.¹⁷

Hij is in 't geel en blauwe weerschijn gekleet, betee-
kenende de eendragtige veranderingen van de dingen, die in
dese konst het oogh vermaekt.¹⁸

Ter

55 uijtlegginge

De gegote konstvaes zinspeelt op de konstbeeltgie[te]rije.

De caduceus of staf van Mercurius betekent geleertheit en goede konste, En de koren Halmen
overvloed, zie C: Ripa, fol. 228, vrede en wijsheit fol: 152, 359, opregtighijt fol: 392, fol: 571, 596.¹⁹
De koren Halmen betekent overvloed, I: oudaen, R: M: pag: 353;²⁰ goede uijtkomst, zie C: Ripa, fol.

60 138, 160, Hope, fol: 206.²¹

't geel en blauw Zinspeelt op de bouwstofte, 't Arduijnsteen en Harsteen.²²

'T waterpas is een noodzakelijk werktuig in de bouwkunde, leggende benevens een winkelhaek, Maet-
stok, slaglijn, Passer, Colom &^a op de Voorggrond off Baluster, C: Ripa, 135, 213, 313, 328 en 375,
zie oordeel, 392, 418, 460.²³

65 NB: sijnde de schets off tekening der gront van het stadshuijs.²⁴

van Pallas zie I:
oudaen, R: M: fol. 304;
C: v: mander, ovid: 5.
boek fol: 38; G: d: Lairis,
208; C: Ripa, fol 99;
I: Zeeus, Zinneb. fol:
75.²⁵
van't Helmet zie
C: Ripa, fol: 546.²⁶
vande D' Harp zie ook
G: d: Lairis, 2. boek pag:
283.²

D: Boeken zie C: Ripa,
fol: 20, 88, 100, 200.
C: Ripa 175, 254, 273
279, 358, 442, zie
Roem en Eer.²⁹

Van de Hondt zie
fol: 163, 236, 311.³²

Ter Regter zijde, op een Marmere Pedestal (op wier voet, een Harp
in Basrelieff sig verthoont) staet een Borstbeelt van Pallas off
Minerva, de godinne der wijsheijt ende der geleerthijt &^a. Op
haer Helmet sit het schrandere dier sphinx, uijtgehouden, En
70 op haer Borstharnas het hooft van Meduza. sij heeft mede
om haer hooft een olijve krans, sijnde door de oude haer toegewijdt,
Als mede de Lauwrier en Eijkenboomen staende agter haer Borst-
beelt in 't verschiet, sijnde sinnebeelden van Deugt, Roem en Eeren.

De Boeken en Globe ofte Spheera bij haer leggende en staende,
75 betekent kennisse en wetenschappen &c.²⁸ op de globe leestmen Hagae
Aeternae.³⁰

De Hondt, leggende ter Linker seijde op de Baluster, betekent
waeksaemheijt, wakkerhijt en Getrouwigheijt.³¹
Finis.

80 uijlegginge

De Harp ofte Liere op het Pedestal van Minerva. Orpheus was van de ouden gehouden voor den
god der welsprekenthijt, staende op de Harpe, off Liere. Staende voor hem Leeuwen, wolven,

Beeren, slan-

gen en verscheijde andere dieren, welke hem de voeten Likten, en daer waren niet alleen allerhande
vogelen

die rondom hem vlogen, maer ook bergen en bomen, die sig voor hem nederbogen, Jae selfs de stee-
85 nen, die door het lieffelijk musiek wierden beweegt en getrokken. tot verklaring van dit schone sin-
nebeelt, door de Harp off Liere, verthoont hoe grote kragt de welsprekendhijt heeft, sijnde de Dog-
ter van appollo, 't welk niet anders is als de wijsheijt. De Lier is eijgentlijk de konst van 't
spreken, als hebbende daer mede gelijkenisse, die als nu de toon hoog, dan laeg laet gaen,
de stemmen daer in na bootsende. De Bosschen en Bergen die sig bewegen, sijn anders niet als

90 d' stijfhoofdige menschen, die vast op hare inbeeldinge blijven staen, en die sig nogtans ten
laesten met grote moeyten door de soetighijt van de stemme en de kragt van lieffelijke re-
denen late overwinnen, maer bij de Bomen, welke diepe en Vaste wortels hebben, wierden die
menschen bij verstaen, welke Hartnekkig en als de dieff bij den bast bij het haere blijven.
Hij hout mede de Rivieren op, sijnde d' dertele menschen, dewelke alsse niet door de kragt van de
95 Tonge niet werden gestuijt in haer godloos leven, soo lopen sij sonder ophouden ten laesten in de
zee

van berouw en klagen. Hij maeckte de wilde Dieren sagtmoedig, waer door te verstaen werd gegeven
dat den Wrede en bloetdorstige mens, door welbedagte welsprekenthijt werd gebragt tot een
Prijslijk en Eerlijk leven.³³

Door het Borstbeelt van minerva verbeelden wij den aert en de levende werksaemhijt des verstants
100 &^a sonder welke noodwendige gaven niemant tot den top der studien in geleerthijt wetenschap &^a

[continuation from fol. 3]

kan geraken.³⁴ de Helm betekent dat de Regering moet gesterkt en seker zijn van 't geweld dat van
buijten komt.³⁵ van het dier sphinx zie C: Ripa, 270, 335, 45i; het betekent (segt hij), dat de wijshijt
alle

twijfelagtigheijt wegneemt³⁶ &^a. Het hoofd van Medusa betoont dat de wijse alle de snode genegent
heden moet

afsnijden, en hetselve door sijne daden ook bewijzen, lerende den ontwetende, dat se deselve moeten
vlieden,

105 en daer door worden gebetert;³⁷ het betekent ook de schrik, dewelke den wijse doet aen de bose,

C: Ripa,

fol. 270.³⁸ De Olijve krans betekent vrede en wijshijt, C: Ripa, fol. 3, 62i; en I: Oudaen, R: M: fol: 352.³⁹

Van de Laurier en Eijkenbomen, zie C: Ripa, pag. 2, 3, betekent sterkhijt van 't gemoet, fol: 82,

Deugt 84

en 87, Arbeijt en naerstighijt 89, Eere 204, 286, Liefde tot de Deugt, fol. 294, Eere Roem, fol. 338, 587

en 588.⁴⁰ Eijntelijk van de getrouwighijt der Honden, zie plinius 8. boek, en C: Ripa, fol: 163, 236.⁴¹

Annotation Saeculi Felicitas

1. Oudaen, p. 391, *Vruchtbaarheid*, '[...] op de *Vruchtbaarheid* van *Faustina* passen mede d'opschriften FELIC TEMPOR *Gelukkigheyd der tijden*, daar ze met zes kinderen gezien word; en SAECULI FELICIT *Gelukkigheyd des eeuws*, daar hare twee kinderen t'eenen dracht op een stoel ten toon leggen [...]' Here applied to 'de gelukkigheijt deses Eeuws' which results from 'de goede Regeringe' of the Magistrate of The Hague.

2. Cf. note 1.

3. Cf. note 4.

4. The personification *Salus Hagensis* is partly composed of: Ripa, p. 205, *Speranza. Hope* (1st image), with reference to the floral wreath, 'De bloemekrans om reeden, die in de Medaglie van *Claudius* van de Lely is geseyt, bediet de Hope, om dat wy de bloemen siende geopent, de aenstaende vrucht verwachten'; p. 205, *Speranza. Hope* (3rd image), with reference to the aspects young and merry, 'De Hope wort longh gemaelt, om datse begint als de kinderkens, want alsoo men de Hope van haer heeft, datse goed sullen worden, alsoo oock in 't geene de Mensche hoopt, soo kan hy sich noch niet volkomelijck verblijden. Vrolijck wortse vertoont, om dat al het gevolg dat de Mensche hoopt hem vrolijckheyt aenbrenght'; p. 205, *Speranza. Hope* (4th image), with reference to the lily, 'om dat die bloeme de Hope vertoont, diewelcke een verwachtinge is van 't goed' (see l. 11, 'de Hoope van alles goeds' and note 9); pp. 151[-152], *Felicitas Publica. Algemeene Gelucksaligheyt*, with reference to the flowers, 'De bloemen zijn teyckens van vrolyckheyt, mette welcke de geluckigheste staet altijt is vergeselschap'; p. 572, *Piacere. Vreughde, Vermaeck, Wellust* (1st image), on account of the aspects of beauty and cheerfulness, 'Een longhman van ontrent sestien laeren, schoon van opsicht en lachende, met een krans van Roosen op 't hoofd [...]' (also cf. note 6). For the auburn hair, which is not accounted for by the author, see de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*, where this color signifies youthfulness and endurance (cf. SH, notes 10 and 11).

5. Cf. note 6.

6. Ripa, p. 572, *Piacere. Vreughde, Vermaeck, Wellust* (1st image), 'De Roosen waeren *Venus* toegewijt, wesende Vooghdessse van de Vreughde [...]' For the rose as signifying 'aengenaemheijt' see Ripa, p. 38, *Affabilita. Piacevolezza. Amabilita. Beleeftheyt in 't spreken. Gespraeksaemheyt. Vriendlijckheyt*, 'De Roose bediet dieselve aengenaemheyt, door de welcke sich een yegelijck by een beleeft en bevalligh mensche voeght, en waer door die smaek verkrijght in sijnen ommegangh, vlieden-

de alle bevalligheyt van zeden en manieren, die mette hardigheyt en strengigheyt zijn vereenight.' For the meaning of 'vrolijkheijt' see Ripa, pp. 578[-579], *Allegrezza. Vrolijkheyt* (7th image), 'Met Roosen en andere bloemen wort zy gekroont, want dit was by oude tijden een kenteycken van een feest of Vrolijkheyt: want als de Oude in hunne gastmaelen vrolijk waeren, soo plachten zy sich soo met Roosenkranskens als met andere bloemen te verciere[n].'

7. Ripa, pp. 66[-67], *Stampa. Boeckdruckerye*, in connection with 'Semper Vivum,' 'De bloeme met het opschrift *Semper*, bediet de geduerigheyt die de Druckery aenbrenght, vergelijckende dese met dat selve kruid, 't welck door haer eygen aert geduerigh en altijd groen is'; p. 200, *Historia. Geschiedenisse*, whose attribute is *Sempervivum*; pp. 290[-291], *Vita Humana. Het Menschlijk Leven*, the growth and flowering of plants such as *Sempervivum* is compared to the life of man, 'want het leven des Menschen is anders niet als een groenicheyd, die de warmte, de beweginge en alles watter schoon en goed in den Mensch is, doet aanwassen en onderhouden [...].'

8. Ripa, pp. [4-]7[-11], *Decoro. Achtbaerheyt. Betaemlijckheyt, fraye Welstand*, 'De *Amarant* of fluweele bloem, die hy in de slinckerhand heeft, is een bloeme die altijd bloeyt, houdende haere welstand door haere schoonheyd [...]; pp. 87[-88], *Attione Virtuosa. Deughdlijck Bestaen*, 't Hoofd is hem met een krans van *Amarant* omwonden, om dat dese bloeme sijne aengeborene en levende verwe niet verliest, maer gepluckt zijnde, wort die bewaert, zy verrot oock nimmermeer, en met waeter besprenght zijnde, soo krijght zy haer eerste wesen wederom, en men maeckter kranskens van in den Winter. *Plinius* in syn xxi boeck. Dusdanigh is oock de Natuere van een deughdigh Mensch, diewelcke alleen niet ontaert van sijne schoone hoedanigheden, maer de ziele van 't lichaem afgescheyden zijnde, soo blyven sijne heerlijcke daeden noch overigh, en worden ter eeuwiger gedachtenisse, met dese grootste schoonheyd behouden, en wort haer heerlijcke naeme, soo veel mogelijk, noch grooter'; p. 368, *Immortalita. Onsterflijckheyt*, '[...] d'*Amarant* bediet de Onsterflijckheyt, om dat zy haer verwe nimmermeer verandert, noch nimmermeer vervuyt noch verderft'; p. 485, *Gagliardezza. Sterckheyt, Wackerheyt, Frischheyt*, 'De *Amarant* is een geduyrige struyck, die buyten 't gebruyck van andere bloemen, vastigheyt, sterckheyt en onderhoudinge bediet: en door haere besondere aert, soo verdort zy nimmermeer, maer staet altijd schoon' (see ll. 20-22); p. 563, *Perseveranza. Volhardinge*, 'Op 't hoofd salse hebben een krans van fluweele bloemen, anders *Amarant* geheeten, welcke bloeme, wanneerse gepluckt is, bewaert wort: en nae dat alle andere bloemen vergaen zijn, soo wort dese, met waeter besprenght zijnde, weder levendigh en frisch, waer uyt dan kranskens in den Winter gemaect worden, door welckers volmaeckte Natuyre, dieselve den naem *Nimmer-dor* verkregen hebben.'

9. Lines 25-28 cited from Ripa, pp. 205[-206], *Speranza. Hope* (4th image), (also cf. note 4).

10. Ripa, pp. [83-]84, *Virtu. Deughd* (1st image), 'De Lauwerkrans bediet, dat gelijk de Lauwer altijd groen, en nimmermeer van den blixem geraeckt wort, alsoo hout sich oock de Deughd in haer kracht, en wordt nimmermeer van eenige rampen, hoedanigh dieselve mogen wesen, te neder geslaegen, noch wort oock door brand, schipbreeckinge, noch door tegenspoet of ongeluck verlooren'; p. 158, *Medicina. Geneeskunst* (1st image), 'Want de Romeynen plachten op den eersten dagh Ianuarii aen de nieuwe Magistraten eenige Lauwertacken te vereeren, tot een teycken datse middel hadden, waer mede zy, 't geheele Iaer door, haere gesontheit kosten onderhouden; want zy geloofden dat de Lauwer totte gesontheit seer vorderlijck was'; p. 229, *Roma Vittoriosa. 't Overwinnend Romen*, laurel wreath as a

sign of victory (the reference is not clear to me).

Oudaen, pp. 424[-425], laurel in connection with 'Vrolijkheid' and 'algemeene Blijdschap' after the victory (reference incomprehensible, unless Verheyden intended to emphasize the 'gelukkigheijt des Eeuws' in l. 5).

11. Cf. note 7.

12. Cf. note 13.

13. The relief on the pedestal is a contamination of two medals described and depicted by Oudaen. One was a medal of Titus, referred to on p. 393 in his 'Vijfde 'tSamenspraak' on *Trouw*, and reproduced in pl. 88, nr. 8 (fig. 91). The following fragment from this dialogue will serve as an illustration: 'op [...] deze penningen [nrs. 4 and 5] ziet men een Vrouwenbeeld, met korenaren in d'eene, en een korfje met vruchten en bloemen in d'ander hand, 't zy om dat door *Trouw* alles bloeyt, en toelacht, en vruchtbaar word, of, om dat in de plechtige waarneming eeniger offerhanden dusdanige bloemvereering te aanschouwen staat, tot een teeken dat deze *Trouw* zig ootmoedig stelt en aan een ander opdraagt: om het welk te bevestigen een penning van *Domitianus* dienen kan, daar [nr.] 6 onder het zelve zinnebeeld, de spreuk *FIDEI PUBLICAE ter algemeener Trou* zig gedraagt: en dus word genoemd op een penning van *Vespasianus* [nr.] 7, een Vrou met een offernap in d'eene, en een hoorn van overvloed in d'andere hand; op een penning van *Titus* [nr.] 8 twee in een geslote rechterhanden, met den slangestaf, en twee korenaren.' The other source of inspiration was the medal of Antoninus described by Oudaen in the same dialogue on p. 353 (which Verheyden refers to in l. 59 of his 'uitlegginge') under the entry *Vrede*, and depicted by him in pl. 76, nr. 4 (fig. 92). The two hands clasped around the caduceus and the ears of corn symbolize 'dat uyt een welgevestigde *vrede Overvloed* komt.' In the margin, Verheyden refers to Oudaen, p. 263, because of the meaning of the caduceus as 'een teken van vrede om dat hy [Mercury] deze staf tusschen twee strijdende slangen leggende, de zelve terstond bevredigt vond.' For the caduceus cf. note 19.

14. Cf. note 16.

15. Cf. note 17.

16. This shows a section of the new façade on the Kerkplein. It was part of a major project, begun in 1733, to extend the Raadhuis or town hall (for this project see Herpel, vol. 2, pp. 350-428). From the painting we may perhaps infer that at least the exterior of this building was finished in 1737, as Verheyden's account for his two overdoor pieces dates from that year (see note 18). However, the proportions of the façade have not been rendered accurately. This is partly the result of two conflicting objectives which Verheyden must have set himself. Taking the chosen perspective construction as his starting point, he wanted to represent the entire height of the façade, whereas this construction precluded such a representation. If he had rendered the façade in proper perspective, the building line would have ended up far below the picture plane (as the town hall was not situated high up), and only a small section of the façade would have been visible.

Since the new façade of the town hall was not built according to one of the known orders, we should probably assume that 'Bouwordre' here means that it was built according to the higher architectural order. The composite capital in the painting, which, Verheyden has it, 'zinspeelt op de Bouwordre van het Raedhuijs,' may relate to the composite brackets.

The 'typological' reference to Proverbs 24:3-4, 'Door wijsheid wordt een huis gebouwd, door verstand wordt het bevestigd; door kennis worden de kamers gevuld met allerlei kostelijke en liefelijke goederen,' provides the extension of the town hall with a sacred connotation.

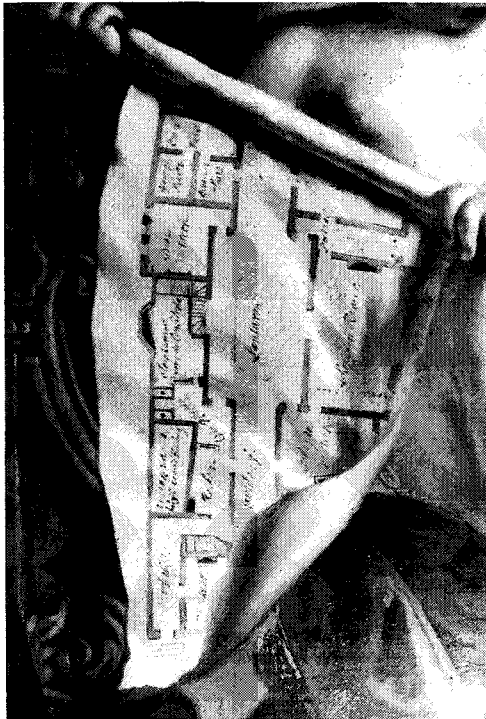
17. The lines of verse derive from Zeeus, *Zinnebeelden*, nr. 26, pp. 81-82, entitled 'Boukunst.'

- 1 De Boukunst, ryk van sierlykheden,
 En al van outs geroemt geagt,
 Komt in een voegelyke dragt
 Dus op het kunsttoneel te treden
 5 Met een bezadigt aengezicht,
 De uitvoering van haer hantwerk eigen,
 Want al wat reukloos wort gesticht
 Zal haest het nydigh onweêr dreigen
 En werpen 't muurgevaerte in 't zand.
 10 Het werktuig geestig uitgevonden,
 Zoo noodig in de Boukunst gronden,
 Grypt zy in haer slinke hant.
 Haer rechte hant komt ons vertoonen
 De schets waer in de gront bestaet,
 15 En hoe haer kunst, die 't werk moet kroonen,
 De regels niet te buiten gaet.
 O Amsterdam, dat met uw' transsen
 Door lucht en wolken henen boort,
 Waar van de gansche werelt hoort,
 20 Wat zet myn Beelt uw grootsche glanssen
 En majesteit en luister by!
 Gy laet de spitsen van uw' toorens
 Zelfs weemlen in het scheepryk y,
 Daer Tritons op hun waterhoorens
 25 Geluit slaen. zwyg, myn Zangeres,
 En vrees de heete zonnestraelen
 Om niet in de Eridaen te daelen:
 Die loftoon voegt Antonides.

Verheyden first cites lines 13-16 from the poem, followed by lines 10-12, taking the license to adapt lines 12 and 13 (lines 51 and 45, respectively, in the ms.) to suit the composition.

The plan as an attribute was derived, by Zeeus and his illustrator F. Bleiswyck (fig. 93) as well as by Verheyden, from Ripa, p. 70, *Architettura. Bouwkunst*, '[...] en in d'ander hand een teyckeningh of ontwerp van een groot gebouw' (cf. note 23). The plan held by Architecture in the painting (fig. 94) is a copy of an original design of the extension of the town hall (fig. 95; for this drawing see Herpel, vol. 2, pp. 283-86). For Zeeus see SH, note 28.

18. In Ripa, p. 70, *Architettura. Bouwkunst*, Architecture is 'in 't weerschijn gekleed,' referring to the 'eendrachtige veranderinge van de dingen, die in dese konst het oogh vermaect.' Sheen ('weerschijn') refers to a presumably silk fabric in which the warp reflects light differently from the weft. Hence the yellow and blue of Architecture's garment in the painting. As Verheyden explains in his 'uitlegginge,' these colors are associated with the different sorts of stone used in the construction of the town hall ('Arduijnsteen, en Harsteen,' l. 61). As far as I could verify, blue stone ('arduijnsteen') was the sole material used in the façade. The yellow stone of the slightly projecting middle section of the building in the painting must have been blue stone coated with yellow paint. This is another reason to



93. F. Bleiswyck, *Bouw-konst*. Engraving from: Jacob Zeeus, *Zinnebeelden*, in id., *Gedichten*, Delft 1721.

94. Mattheus Verheyden, *Saeculi Felicitas*, *Or the Century's good fortune under a prudent Administration*, detail. The Hague, City Hall.

assume that the exterior of the building was ready in 1737 (cf. note 16).

19. Ripa, p. 228, *Italia & Roma*, the caduceus representing 'Welsprekentheyt, geleertheyt en goede konsten'; pp. [151-]152, *Felicitas Publica. Algemeene Gelucksaligheyt*, the caduceus representing 'Vrede en Wijsheyt'; pp. 359[-361], *Conversazione. Ommegangh*, the caduceus without snakes, 'maer in plaets van de Slangen, salder een Mirten-tack met seer schoone krullen omgeslingert zijn, en eenen tack van Granaet-appels, alle beyde bloeyende,' as signifying 'eenigheyt en waere vriendschap'; p. 392, *Sincerita. Oprechtigheyt* (1st image), has a white dove perched on a caduceus; p. 571, *Pace, nae de Medaglie van Claudius*, the caduceus representing peace; p. 596, *Forza Sottoposta al'Eloquenza. Kracht door de Welsprekentheyt t'ondergebracht*, a caduceus representing 'Welsprekentheyt.' Also cf. note 13.

20. Cf. note 13.

21. Ripa, p. 138, *Genius. Geest of Engel, nae der Ouden beschrijvinge*, ears of corn in combination with a dish or a cup representing 'goede uytkomst'; p. 160, *Gerustheyd, nae de Medaglie van Antonius Pius*, ears of corn representing 'de overvloedigheyt van't graen [...] in een geruste en vreedsaeme tijd'; p. 206, *Speranza della Fatiche. Hope van den Arbeyd*, ears of corn associated with abundance.

22. Cf. note 18.

23. A mallet, though not mentioned explicitly, is depicted as an attribute. Apart from the design of a building, Architecture's standard attributes include the carpenter's square, the compasses, and the plumb line (referred to in l. 49 as 'werktuig'), see Ripa, p. 70, *Architettura. Bouwkonst* (cf. note 17).

Ripa, p. 135, *Edifitio overo un sito. Gebouw of Wooningh*, 'Daerom moetmen in 't bouwen dit eerst waernemen, dat alle wercken mettet Waterpas of loot mogen over een komen, en dat die van geener syde eenige scheevigheyt of nederhanginge, in sich hebben'; p. 213, *Ichnographia. Platte grondbeschryvinge*, '[...] en de maete die zy in de slincker heeft, wort in verscheyden landen gedeelt of in ellebogen, palmen, of in voeten, of andere deelingen, en dat is 't geene wat aen de buyten of binnen syden van 't gebouw te meeten is. Waer uyt men daer nae de maete neemt, en maeckt het groot in 't kleyn, en dat wort, door den Passer, in een evangelijcke mate en ontwerp gebracht en afgeteyckent'; pp. 313[-316], *Misura. Maete*, '[...] houdende in de rechter hand een Romeynsche voetmaet, in de slincker hand een Winckelhaeck met een Passer, onder haere voeten heeftse een maete van tien voeten, *Pertica* genaemt, en ter sijden staet een Waterpas recht in 't loot gestelt [...]'. Dese beeldnisse kan niet alleene gepast werden, op de meetinge van Landen en gebouwen, maer oock op de zeedige meetinge zijns selfs'; p. 328, *Geometria. Meetkonst*, has for attributes the plumb line and the pair of compasses; p. 375, *Giuditio. Oordeel*, '[...] houdende in de hand een Rechtsnoer, Passer, Liniael en Waeterpas [...]'. En om dat dese gereetschappen, van den konstenaers zijn gevonden, om gelijcke kennisse te hebben in de Geometrie, soo wort dan, daer door billick, het overlegh en de verkiesinge vertoont, die 't Menschlijck verstant behoort te doen, om allerleye dingen te onderscheyden en oordeelen [...]'; p. 392, *Ordine dritto & Iusto*, 'Wanneer de Egyptenaers, een oprechte saecke wilden uytbeelden, soo dedden zy 't selve door de Winckelhaeck en het Waeterpas: diendende beyde daer toe, om alle oneffene saecken te slechten, en yder dingh zyn rechte lijne te geven'; p. 418, *Planimetria. Vlack-meetinge*, 'Zy meet oock alle platte gronden, soo wel groote als kleyne, en daerom heeftse het Waterpas'; pp. 460[-465], *Simmetria. Gelijckmaetigheyt*, 'Mette slincker hand sal zy de Rije houden en het Pasloot, zijnde wercktuuygen om de langhte en breede van de lichaemen te meeten, vindende door de Rije alle vlakten, en door het Pasloot alle de lijnen, die op 't loot vallen. En om veele redenen, houd

zy den Passer in de slincker hand, want hoe noodigh dieselve is, om de gelijcke gedeelten af te meeten, daer van behoefmen geen breeder proeve; dienende ook om het midden te vinden, om dat de Maeten aen de punten hangen, en alle de getallen aen het eentjen, om alsoo een volkomen Rond te maecken, als mede de Ovaelen, half-ronden, scheve lijnen, en andere ontallijcke dingen diemen door de Simmetrie wil opwercken.'

24. Cf. note 17.

25. Oudaen, pp. 304[-306], *Pallas of Minerva*.

Van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, [fols. 37^v-]38[-38^v], *Van Pallas, oft Minerva*.

De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 280, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden* (cf. note 34).

Ripa, p. 99. *Nobilita. Edelheyd*, 'De Lancy en 't beeld van *Minerva* bedieden, dat door het geruchte, of door de geleertheyt, of door de wapenen de Edelheyd wort verkregen. Wesende gelijck *Minerva*, een beschermersche soo wel van d'eene als van d'ander, overmits zy uyte herssenen van *Jupiter* was gebooren, 't welck is door overweginge en verstand, door welcke, dese haere dapperheyd en heerlijcke naeme, verkrijgen.'

Zeeus, *Zinnebeelden*, p. 75, nr. 23, 'Dichtkonst.' Despite the reference to the name of Pallas on p. 75, it is more likely that Verheyden was alluding to the symbol of 'Rede' on pp. 76-78, which was illustrated with a representation of Minerva (for Zeeus see SH, note 28).

26. Ripa, p. 546, *Intelletto. Verstand* (2nd image), 'De gulden Helm op 't hoofd, druckt uyt, dat het Verstand den Mensche vast en wijs maeckt, alsoo dattet aen andere aengenaem en prijslijck is, kennende desselven waerdigheyd, als de waerdigheit van 't goud, 't welck vast als stael is' (also cf. note 35).

27. De Lairese, vol. 2, pp. 283[-284], *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, 'De Harp verbeelde in voorige tyden allerley konsten en deugden [...]' Also cf. note 33.

28. Cf. note 29.

29. For the books see: Ripa, pp. [19-]20, *Autorita o Potesta. Aensien of Ontsagh*, 'En de boecken [...] die ter syden leggen [...] betoonen in 't eerste het aensien der schrifture en der geleerden [...]' pp. [87-]88, *Attione Virtuosa. Deughdlijck Bestaen*, 'Hy hout met groote bevalligheyd een Boeck in de slincker hand, om dat de oefningen soo wel van de konsten als wapenen, den Mensche beroemt en doorluchtigh maecken'; pp. 100[-101], *Solitudine. Eensaembeyt*, 'Het Boeck vertoont, dat het oogghwit van een eensaem Man moet wesen de liefde van de wijsheyd en van de leeringe, andersins is d'Eensaembeyt een sake die lasterens waerdigh is'; p. 200, the reference is probably to the book as an attribute of *Historia* (2nd image); p. 358, *Studio. Oeffeningh in de konsten, Studeeringe*, the book representing 'kennisse der dingen.'

For the 'Globe ofte Spheera' see: Ripa, pp. 175[-176], *Theologia. Godgeleertheyd*, 'Zy sit op eenen Hemel vol sterren, vermits de Godgeleertheyt haer ruste niet stelt in eenige aerdsche saecken, maer gaet regelrecht streven nae de kennisse Godes, van waer zy daer nae, een regel en richtsnoer krijght van wetenschap en kennisse van alle dingen, die haer licht maeckt, in die dingen die wy met groote verwonderinge, hier op der aerde, met onse oogen aenschouwen'; p. 254, *Intelligenza. Kennisse, Verstand*, 'Maer om dat ons voornaemste oogghwit is, van die dingen te handelen, die aen't werck en aen de Menschlijcke kennisse hangen, soo sullen wy oock daer van alleene spreekken, gelijck wy sulx door de *Sphaera* en door de Slange vertoonen, want om hooge en swaere dingen te verstaen, is 't noodigh, datmen eerst, als de slange, op der aerde kruppe, en met ons verstand de beginselen van de aerdsche dingen leere verstaen, die niet soo volkomen zijn als de Hemelsche. Daerom is haer in de slincker hand de Slange en in de rechter de Sphaere gegeven';

pp. 273[-274], *Metaphysica. Kennisse boven natuyre*, 'Hemelsche Globe' representing 'kennisse boven natuyr'; p. 279, *Geographia of Land-beschrijvinge*, the globe in this image is not a celestial but a terrestrial globe; pp. [441-]442, *Gloria. Roem, Eere*, has the celestial globe as an attribute.

30. The words 'Hagae Aeternae' ('Hagae Aeterna' is legible on the globe) must be a variation of 'Romae Aeternae,' according to Oudaen p. 306, *Pallas of Minerva*, 'Om dezen rey [of gods] te besluyten hebben we hier ROOME daarze mede voor een Godin gehouden word by te doen; dog in geen andere verbeelding, dan gelijk we haar onder de Landschappen en Steden gezien hebben, als een heldinne-beeld gezeten, of in een Tempel verbeeld, gelijkse dus, op de penningen van *Klaudius de tweede*, *Probus*, en anderen, onder de benaming ROMAE AETERNAE *het eeuwige Rome*, [nr.] 7 in een tempel van zes kolommen gezien [...]' Analogous to this, Verheyden designed the goddess 's-Gravenhage (The Hague). Also cf. Ripa, p. 236; *Roma Aeterna. Eeuwigh Romen*.

31. Cf. note 32.

32. Ripa, pp. [162-]163, *Fedelta. Getrouwigheyt*, 'De Hond is het getrouwste Dier, waer van *Plinius* in 't viii boeck verscheiden voorbeelden ophaelt [...]' pp. 236[-237], *Roma, van Theodosius de Alder-Christelijckste Keyser*, '[...] in dese Medaglie wort *Theodosius* uytgebeeld onder het teycken van den Hond, want hy was een seecker Wachter voor 't Rijk, en een beschermer van *Romen* tegen hare vyanden, gelijk de Hond is voor de Schapen tegens de grijpende Wolven [...]' Hy hout den mond open, om te vertoonen, dat een Prince geen stomme Hond moet wesen, die niet konnen bassen noch bijten: Maer hy moet als een wackere en kloecke Hond, blaffen, en dat tegens d'ongeloovige, moedwillige en wederspannige Vyanden.'

We should of course relate this image of the sovereign watching his subjects like a faithful dog to the Magistrate of The Hague, who, as the inscription on the collar of the dog in the painting indicates, 'wackt' (watches) over the inhabitants of the town. The dog's collar, too, should be interpreted symbolically. Ripa, for instance, says that 'Pierius hout dat de halsband bediet de eed daer door men onder de gehoorsaemheydt staet, en dat de Hond het ampt van een soldaet uytvoert, die bereyt staet op 't bevel van sijnen Capiteyn: En sulx kan men passen op *Theodosius*, zijnde een soldaet en voorvechter *Christi*, staende vaerdigh onder de gehoorsaemheydt des Opper-Priesters [...]' The collar in this painting should be interpreted in the same way, albeit within the context of the program. The collar, then, would refer to the oath the burgomasters were obliged to take. For the complete text of this oath see Jacob de Riemer, *Beschryving van 's-Graven-Hage...*, vol. 2, The Hague 1739, p. 149, and A.J. Servaas van Rooijen, *Het Burgemeestersambt van 's-Gravenhage*, The Hague 1895, p. 26.

Ripa, pp. 311[-313], *Misura. De Maete, van den Heere Giov. Zaratini Castellini*, the dog representing 'getrouwigheyt.'

33. Lines 80-97 ('leven') all but literally, and without acknowledgment, taken from Ripa, p. 595, *Eloqenza. Welsprekentheyt* (3rd image). Also cf. note 27.

34. Lines 99 ('verbeelden') - 101 ('geraken') cited from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 280, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*, except that the words 'den top der Rechtsgeleerdheid' were changed into 'top der studien in geleerthijt wetenschap &c.'

35. Lines 101 ('de Helm') - 102 ('komt') without acknowledgment taken from Ripa, p. 438, *Governo della Republica. Regeringe van 't gemeene beste*. Also cf. note 26.

36. Ripa, pp. [269-]270, *De Koetse of Wagen van Minerva*, 'De Griffioens en de *Sphinx* op den Helm, bedieden, dat de wijsheyt alle twijfelachtigheyt wegh neemt'; p. 335, *Sphinx*; pp. 451[-452], *Acutezza del Ingegno. Scherpsinnigheyt des Verstands*, 'De

Sphinx [...] kan men passen op de scherpigheyt des verstands.'

37. Lines 103 ('Het hoofd') - 105 ('gebetert') without acknowledgment freely cited from Ripa, p. 621, *Sapienza. Wijsheyt* (6th image).

38. Ripa, pp. [269-]270, *De Koetse of Wagen van Minerva*, 'Het hoofd van *Medusa*, bediet de schrick, die de wijze doet aen de boose Menschen.'

39. Ripa, pp. [1-]3[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van den Heere Giov. Zarantino Castellini*, 'Soo is 't dan van node, voor die daer begeert een onsterflijke naeme van een wijs Academist te hebben, dat hy sich voede mette vrucht van de Olijve, dat is, dat hy besigh zy, om de wetenschap van Wijsheyt en kennisse te verkrijgen, door nachtwaecken en naerstige oeffeninge: waer van de Olijve een beeld is'; p. 621, *Sapienza. Wijsheyt* (6th image), 'De Olijve vertoont, dat de innerlijke en uyerlijke Vreede, van de Wijsheyt heerkomt, en derhalven soo leggen het veele aldus uyt, dat de tacke, die *Aeneas* hadde om te gaen na de Aelysische velden, en die nootsaecklijck van *Virgilius* was versiert, niet anders is, als de Wijsheyt diewelcke den Mensche uyt alle swarigheyt geleyt, en voert die tot een geluckigh einde.'

Oudaen, pp. [351-]352[-353], *Vreede*, the olive branch representing peace.

40. Ripa, pp. [1-]2 and 3[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van den Heere Giov. Zarantino Castellini*, the laurel representing both the crown of the poet, particularly the 'Helden-sanger,' and 'geduricheyt'; and the oak tree representing 'geduricheyt' and 'kracht'; pp. [81-]82[-83], *Fortezza. Dapperheyt, Sterckheyt*, the oak tree representing 'sterckheyt van 't gemoed'; pp. [83-]84, *Virtu. Deughd* (1st image), 'De Lauwerkrans bediet, dat gelijck de Lauwer altijd groen, en nimmermeer van den blixem geraeckt wort, alsoo hout sich oock de Deughd in haer kracht, en wordt nimmermeer van eenige rampen, hoedanigh dieselve mogen wesen, te neder geslaegen [...]'; pp. [86-]87, *Virtu Insuperabile. Onverwinnelijke Deughd of Sterckheyt*, 'De Eycke [...] bediet niet anders, dan dat de Deughd vast en bestandigh is, gelijck dese boom, diewelcke diepe wortels, en breede blaeders en tacken heeft, en hoe die meer behouwen wort, soo veel te stercker wortse, en hoe die meer gesolt en geslagen wort, soo veel te meer wastse en spreyt haere tacken en blaeders uyt'; p. 89, *Poesia* (3rd image), '[...] door den Lauwerkrans [...] wort de arbeyt en naerstigheyt te kennen gegeven, want gelijck in haere blaeders een groote bitterheyt is, also is 't oock een seer groote sloverie, sijn werck tot soodanigen volmaecktheyt te brengen, dat hy daer van lof en eere sal kunnen wegh draegen'; p. 204, *Sublimita della Gloria. Hoogheyt van Eere*, 'De Lauwerkransse isser in de eene en de spiese in d'ander hand gestelt, om dat dese dingen seer wel passen, voor die van een doorluchtige geest, soo wel door de goede konsten als door de waepen verheven worden [...]'; pp. [285-]286, *Guida sicura de veri honor. Vaste Leyster van de waere Eere*, the oak tree representing honor; p. 294, *Amor di Virtu. Liefde totte Deughd*, 'Het wort met een Lauwerkrans gemaelt, tot een teycken van eere, die dese Deughd toebehoort'; p. 338, *Clio. Eere-Roem*, the laurel wreath representing 'eeuwigh leven'; pp. 587[-588], *Guida Sicura de veri honori. Geruste Wacht van de waerachtige eere*, the oak tree representing honor.

41. Cf. note 32.

Appendix II

Tafereel van de Historie studie, Vereenigt met (Pictura) d'schilderkonst

[1]

Tafereel
Van de Historie studie, Vereenigt met
(Pictura) d'schilder-Konst &c.

Inleydinge

1 Hoe noodzakelijk het voor een Historie schilder is (wil hij iets na
'd Waerheijt der geschiedenis verbeelden) zig met het Lezen en onderzoe-
ken van Deftige Historien, gedurig moet bezig houden, en als't ware
zig daer mede vereenigen, bevestigen veele fraije schrijvers, welke
5 over de Historie schilderkonst geschreven hebben. Namentlijk Carel van
Mander, Cecar Ripa, Franciscus Iunius, Felebien, Samuel van Hoogstraten,
gerardt de Lairese, A. de Frenoi, de Piles &c.¹ generleij geschiedenissen
studien behoren haer vreemt te zijn. sij moeten de gantsche oudheijt
met te zamen 't ontallijk getal der Poëtischer ende Historischer
10 vertellinge op hunnen Duijm hebben.² Een voltrokken ende bequaemelij-
ke verhandelde Inventie (zegt F: Iunius) moet uijt een groote en diep
gewortelde volgeleertheid hervooft spruijten.³ De wetenschappen zijn de
voordeelen, daer een Historie schilder overvloedig van voorzien moet zijn.
En in der waerheijt, daer en is 'er niet een, die niet bekend, en bij
15 zijn zelfs niet overtuigt is, hoe nootsakelijk de geleertheit is
om den geest op te scherpen en te beschaven, en dat is de
Reden, dat de geene die doorlezen zijn, niet alleen hebben
geleert en gezien veele schoone Dingen door hunnen oeffening
in de Historie kennis, maer daer en boven noch verkregen een
20 groote vaerdigheijt om van het Lezen der beste schrijvers te
Profiteeren. Die genen dan die hun werk willen maken van
het Historie schilderen, moeten bij hen selfs een schat van doorLee-
sentheijt opleggen, zoo sullen sij het verwonderlijke middel vin-
den om hun oneijndig boven andere te verheffen, die niet als
25 bij de aerde kruipen, of soo sij haer verheffen, het is om
soo veel te hoger, val te doen, aengezien sij hen bedienen van
een anders Vleugelen, waer van sij het gebruik, nog de kragt niet kennen.⁴
Volgens het gezegde is het dan hoognodig, dat een Historie schilder
met de Historie studie zig vereenige moet, veel Leesen
30 en een goede Memorie dient te bezitten, om het beste daer van in
sijn Memorie inte prenten. Edogh ongelukkig is hij, soo hij dit niet
bezit. En noch ongelukkiger is hij, indien hij te waenwijs is om daer
over te Raedplegen met een verstandig Man, welke de H: Schrift
ende Historien Studie kundig, en in de oudheijt ervaren is.⁵
35 Voor al is het Noodsakelijk voor den Konstenaer, dat hij voorstanders
(Mecenassen) heeft, also hij sonder hulpe van gunstige aenleijders
en voortkruijers, die zijne Konstwerken Luijtrugtig opvijzelen, be-
swaerlijk sal bekend worden. En dat noch 't slimste is, zoo bevint
men

[2]

S.v: Hoogstraten,
over de Schilder-
konst, 8^{ste} boek,
p: 310.⁶

Edog van Edelmoe-
dige Konstbe-
looners, zie
pag. 355, 9^{de}
Boek.⁸

verklaringe van
't zinnebeeldt

men dat de Liefhebbers, of jmant dragen, of onderdrukken, en
40 dat zij selden onverschilligh, maer deurgaens eenzijdig zijn. En
dit is de oorsaeck dat veele brave schilders, ja zelfs onder de oude
de vermaertheijt te beleven gemist hebben, als Aristodemus,
Thasius, Polijcles, Atramitenes, Nicomachus, Schopas, en
veel andere. Want schoon het hen aen vlijt nog vernuft ont-
45 brak, egter soo bleven zij verdonkert en in 'd armoede versmoort
door d' eenzijdigheijt der gewaende Konstkenners (keelbeulen), Die
haer als met de voet op de Nek traden.⁷ Egter zijn 'er ook
Edelmoedige en treffelijke beloners, nu en in d'aloude tijden geweest,
welke den Konstenaer na waerde zijner Konst beloont en
50 geëert hebben.⁹
Om dit als in een Tafereel te vertonen, verbeelden wij de
Historie Studie jn de gedaente van een Deftig Jongeling, bleek,
dog schoon van aenzigt en gestalte, staende ter Regterzeijde van
Pictura, ofte d. Schilderkonst, welke hij schijnt te onderrigten
55 in de Historie Studie kunde, uijt een Historisch Boek (welke
hij met zijne Regterhand opent) staende op een Tafel, haer ver-
toont, op welke Tafel mede staet Een wit marmer Borst-
beeldt van Minerva, godinne der wijsheijt ende der studien,
hebbende op haer Helmet een Haen, 't zinnebeeldt van zorg
60 en wakkerheijt, zaken welke beijde tot de studien bequaem
en nodig zijn.¹⁰
Een brandende Lamp zietmen mede op de Tafel staen, bene-
vens een Inktkoker, Pennen en Boeken.
Op de Voorgrondt staet een Hondt bij eenige Historische Boe-
65 ken en Papiere Rollen.

Uijtlegginge oft Verklaring

C. Ripa.¹¹

Historie is een Konst, door dewelke men schrijvende uijt-
druckt, de gedenkwaardige handelingen der Menschen, De deelingen
der Tijden, De Naturen, en de verledene en tegenwoordige toevallen
70 van Perzoonen en zaken, begrijpende in zich Drie dingen, te
weten, waerheijt, ordre en overeenstemminge.¹² Jongh werd hij ver-
toont, om dat den Jongeling bequaem is de moeijlikheijt van de
studien te verdragen.¹³ De geesten in de Jonkheijt, door de Hette des bloeds
zig verheffende, en tot het verstandt op stijgen, waer door geschiedt
75 dat het Lezen, beschrijven, en het verhael der Historien een over-
weginge maect, en uijt die zelve overweginge worden alle ordonnan-
tien, ofte Inventien toegestelt.¹⁴ Het Juweel sijnde een saphier waer mede zijn
Kleed is vestgehegt, als mede zijne Brooskens aen beijde Benen,

C: Ripa, f: 5, 529.¹⁵

[continuation from fol. 2]

vertonende jonge Leeuwe Hoofden, betekenen agtbaerheijt, zuiverheijt
80 vereeniging, Edelheijt en Deughdt.¹⁶
Door het Borstbeeldt van Minerva werd de wijsheijt en studien
mede

C. v: Mander, uijt-
leg: van ovidius,
5 Boek, f: 38.¹⁸

mede betekent, als bevoorderaerster der Historien Studie, En het wit
Marmor om de Zuiverheit harer kennisse mede te deelen.¹⁷ Sij is uijt het
hoofd van Iupiter geboren. hier werd door verstaen, den Aerd en Leven-
85 digheit des Verstands, wijsheit en kennisse, zonder welke nood-
wendige gaven niemandt de Historie Studie &c: kan geraken.¹⁹

De Haen op haer Helmet uijtgehouden bet: zorge ende wakkerheit, zaken
seer nodigh tot de studien.²⁰

Om haer Hooft heeft zij een Olijve Cransie wegens de Olij vindinge,
90 om dat men de Wijsheit ofte wetenschap met arbeijt en veel wa-
kens verkrijgt, tot welk waken men d'Olij van Olijven in Grieken
en Elders gebruikt, om Licht te hebben.²¹

De Brandende Lamp betekent mede wijsheit, verstandt. Eertijts
was er onder de studenten dit spreekwoord: Plus olei quam vini,
95 dat 's te zeggen, dat hij meer in Olij, als in wijn verteert had, verstaende
daer mede, dat hij meer de naerstigheid en Arbeijt met de zinnen heeft
gedaen om de wetenschappen te verkrijgen, als met wandelen &c.²²

Door den Inktkoker en Pennen, Boeken, Papieren, verstonen
de Egijptenaren al het gene waer mede men de Konsten en
100 wetenschappen verbeelde.²³ Het betekent mede, dat de Memorie
hare volkomenheit krijgt door 't gebruik, welk gebruik bestaat
of door 't Lezen, of door 't schrijven²⁴ van veelerlei zaken en geschie-
denissen. Het betekent ook de werking en het oogmerk om
al schrijvende een gedagtenissen van zich zelve na te laten.

Persius, Satijr: i.²⁵

105 Scire tuum niscus est, nisi te scire, hoc sciat alter.
dat is:

Uw weeten is niet dan een ijdel niet,

Soo 't geen ghij weet, geen ander hoort of ziet.²⁶

De Boeken, betekent de studien en geleertheit, door welke veel
110 te Lesen men tot veelerlei kennissen geraekt, behalven dat het den
oefenaer beroemt en Doorlugtig maekt;²⁷ zijnde 't deze navolgende
Historien, welke den Historie kender naest hem, en op de
voorgont voor hem heeft staen en Leggen, namentlijk, Den

115 T. Livius, Plutarchus, Homerus, Virgilius, Ovidius, Horatius,
C. Ripa, I. Oudaen, R. M: &c. Dit zijn wel de voornaemste Boeken
waer van een verstandigh Historie schilder veel zijn gebruik van
moet maken, en als t ware zig daer mede moet vereenigen.²⁸

C: Ripa, f: 139.²⁹

De Hondt jst zinnebeeldt van Memorie, en onthoudt, als mede
120 om de getrouwigheid der Historie te vertonen.³⁰

Ter Linker zijde der Historie studie zit Pictura (schilderkonst),
zijnde een schoone Maegt int beste van haer Leven, Deftig, zedig,
en opmerkende van wezen.³¹ zij ziet Historie studie sterk aen

[continuation from fol. 3]

met aendagt, horende het gene hij haer uijt de Historien komt
125 te vertonen.

Sij heeft Kastanie bruijn Hair, verciert met een goude Diadema
ofte

I. Oudaen, R. M.³²

C. Ripa, f. 452,
en 139, 252;

C: v: Mander, uijtb:
des Figuren, f. iij.³⁶
g. d. Laies, f. 27i.³⁸

C: R. f. 350.⁴¹

Boissard, L. i, c. i,
vers, 38.⁴⁵

C: v. Mander, ovid:
metam: f. 8.⁴⁷

C: R: f. 350.⁵⁰

ofte Hooftbandt om hare waardigheijt te betekenē.³³

Dat wij haer schoon en int beste van haer Leven vertonen, js dat in

die Iaren de grootste kragt en standvastigheijt onzer geest betoond werdt,

130 om dat die Tijd haer van alle Lossigheid en onbedagtzaamheid bevrijdt,
latende niets ontglijen, dat opmerkenswaardig is.³⁴ Haer Kastanie bruijn Hair
betekent, dat die Koeleur de bestendigste is.³⁵ Int midde van hare goude Diade-
ma vertoont int midden een Diamant, om te betekenē de Edelheijt, vol-
maektheijt en zuiverheijt, als mede memorie, stantvastigheidt.³⁷

135 Om hare Regter Arm heeft ze een armring, bet: Beloningh, Het gene
de Romeijnen aen die gene geve welke iets Loflijks deden ten nutte van
Land en inwoonderen. Deze giften wierden voor de Latere nakomelingen be-
waard, op dat de Jeugt daer door mogten werden aengeprikkeld ten
eijnde de voetstappen der geleerde en Konstenaers &c: onvermoeijelijk na
140 te volgen.³⁹

Sij heeft een goude Keten om haren Hals, waer aen een Mom aenzigt
hangt, vertonende de schakels der Keten, d'gelijkheid van de eene sake
met de andere. het goudt betekē, dat als de schilderkonst door
de vermogende en grooten niet werd begunstigt en gehandhaeft, dat

145 de Konst en den oeffenaer als dan ligtelijk vervalt, en de geest
als uijtgebluscht word.⁴⁰

Het Maskes betekē, dat een Konst schilder (even als de Toneel-
speelders) een aendoening van Persoonen en zaken moet hebben, sal men
de Dingen Natuerlijk vertoonen en verbeelden.⁴²

150 Hare Klederen bestaen uijt Wit en Blaeuw, omme daer mede te betekenē,
dat sij hare Hemelsche, als andere Heerlijke Denkbeelden, met alle zuiver-
heijt (waer van deze Twee Koeleuren ten zinbeelde verstreken) en opregtigheijt
diendt uijt te voeren.⁴³

In hare Linkerhandt houd zij Palet en Penseelen, werktuijgen harer

155 Edele Konst.⁴⁴ Zij leunt ofte Rust op den Antijschen Romp ofte
Rugge van Hercules (bij d. oude geëert voor den god der Deugden),
zijnde gemaekt door Apollonius zoon van Nestor van Athenen,
welk stuk van M. Agnolo geacht wierd voort aldervolmaekste stuk
werks om na te studeeren.⁴⁶

160 Sij toont met hare Regterhand Historie kunde aen, haer Model, ofte
schets (Tekening) van het Historie stuk welke zij voor haer op
den Schilder Ezel heeft staen, (verbeeldende eene Historie, zinspelende
op vereeniging, of van Psiche met Cupido,⁴⁸ ofte de vereeniging
der slangen om Mercurius Roede, Caduceus genaemt).⁴⁹

165 het Legt voor haer op een Printe ofte Tekening Bocken &c: jn
welken Een Aep schijnt inte kijken, een zinbeeld veeltijts de
schilderkonst bij gevoegt, om dat dit Dier van Natuer bisonder
is afgericht om alles na te Bootsē.⁵¹

[continuation from fol. 4]

Voor haer en int verschiet leggen en staen eenige antike hoofden
170 en Beelden, studien van Pictura.

C: v: Mander, ovid:
fol. 72.⁵²

Hare Linker Voet Rust op een voete banck, waer onder verbeeld
t Dier Sphinx, omme daer mede te betekenen, dat dit wijze wangedrogt
het welke seer Duijstere Raedzelen uijt gaf, en dien verslondt, die dezelve
niet oplosten, gelijk de Konst mede doet den genen die niet tot hare
175 geheijmen indringen, dezelve in den Poel der onwetenheid jammerlijk smo-
ren

- smoren en omkomen latende.⁵³
 Agter Historie studie en Pictura, int midden van hun, vertoont zig anteros
 (verstandt), Ligtende haer met een Brandende Fakkels, houdende
 een Palmtak in de eene, en inde andere Handt een granate
 180 en Mirten Tak, Hebbende een Purperen Mantel om, bezaijt
 met goude sterren, als mede een Laurier Krans om zijn hooft.⁵⁴
 Dus het verstandt, deel nemende om Pictura in volmaektheit
 te doen voortgaen, verlicht haer met de stralen van zijn godde-
 lijk vernuft, het welke door de Fakkels die als een brandent
 185 vuer, dat bij de oudheid de goddelijkheid betekende, word vertoont.
 Zijn Roode Mantel met goude starren bezaijt betekenen mede de
 Hemelsche invloeyinge, welke alle volgens de ordre harer Loop,
 van Trap tot Trap onophoudelijk moeten voortgaen.⁵⁷ Om de Palm
 Tak, seggen de Poëten, dat hij lange met zijn Broeder Cupido
 190 getwist, en Eindelijk dezelve hem uijt de handen gerukt hadde.⁵⁸
 De Laurier, Mantel en Fakkels beduiden zijne ijver en Bran-
 dende Liefde tot de Konsten en studien, welke Eijndelijk ter volmaekt-
 heijt gekomen zijnde, tot haer Eeuwigdurende Loon met Lauren
 gekroont word.⁵⁹
 195 De Granaete en Mirten Takken in zijne Regterhand
 zijn zinnebeelden van vereeniging der Konsten en wetenschappen.
 Dat de Mirten en Granaetappels (zeggen de natuerkundigers)
 zulken Liefde tot malkanderen hebben, Dat of schoon haren
 wortels wat van den anderen worden geplant, soo naderen zij
 200 dog, en voegen zig bij malkanderen.⁶¹ De Mirtus, zegt g. d. Laires +,
 betekent een verstand met allerlei gaven verciert.⁶³
 Agter Anteros vertoont zig de Dankbaerheijt, waer
 van den zoetvloeyende Dichter I. Zeeus dus zingt:⁶⁵
 op de Dankbaerheit.
 205 Komt, komt ondankbren, die van eedle schaemte ontbloomt
 Als redenloos, ontaert van ware Deugt, verbastert
 Geen hulp nog gunst erkent, maer met de voeten stoot,
 En die uw vrienden zijn, noch hoont en schent en Lastert,
 Leert hoe men 't weldoen moet erkennen als gij ziet
 210 Hoe Dankbaerheijt hier komt de wieroockgeuren plengen,
 Niet ziende 't geen zij uit den vollen hooren giet
 Op 't Heilig Reukaltaer: Dus gaet ze haer plicht volbrengen.
 Zoo blinkt de Dankbaerheid ook uit in de oijevaer
 Die vaak de hulp Erkent van zijn gebrekkige ouders.
 215 Gij zijt, o Dankbaerheid, een sterke steunpijlaer
 Daer 't hooge + Kunstgewelf rust veilig op uw schouders.
 Laet u dan de Afgunst dol van woede tegen gaen,
 Gij dooft den schemerglans van 't nietigh aertsch gewemel,
 En
- C: v: Mander,
 ovid: fol. 27,
 3 boek.⁵⁵
- C: Ripa, f. 273.⁵⁶
- C: R: f: 2,
 52, 99, 154,
 359.⁶⁰
- + 2 boek, f: 279.⁶²
- in zijne sinne-
 beelden, fol. 83.⁶⁴
- C: Ripa, f: 80.⁶⁶
- + academie.

- van d. oijevaer, hare Deugden
zie I. oudaen, R. M. 368;
C: Ripa, fol. 42, 80,
172, 178, 153,
ziii.⁶⁸
- 220 Die uwe haters zijn, zijn haeters van den Hemel.
Men roeme dan uw Deugdt, die zij alom bekend
Zoo ver Apollo met zijn vlugge Paerden ment.⁶⁷
Boven De Dankbaerheid, ofte de Nis, vertoont zig in Marmor
uitgehouden Een Arendt, houdende in zijne Klauw den
225 Caduceus, de vereende, en vrede staf van Mercurius, den
god der Konsten en Deugden; En op de voet van het offeraltaer
een Palmboom, en beneden onder het Pedestal der Dankbaerh:
een Lier ofte Harpe van Orpheus, den god der Konsten
en vereeniging &c.
230 Den Arendt werd bij de ouden gehouden voor een Dier van verstandt
en Dankbaerheijt. 't Exempel is te Lezen in C: Ripa, Pag. 141, 546
en 593.⁶⁹
De Caduceus, of slangenstaf van Mercurius is ook een zinb. van
neerstigheid, geleertheijt en goede Konsten &c.⁷¹
235 De Palmboom bet: Deugt en opregtigheid, zie g. d. Laire, f: 294,
Tweede Deel.⁷²
De Harp, ofte Lier, vereeniging, Harmonie, Konsten en Deugden &c.⁷⁵
Ter Regter seijde des Vertreks, boven, ziet men den ijver, ofte
Liefde goodies een Donker Gordijn op ofte weg schuijven,
240 betonende also dat de Liefde tot de Konst, de Chaos
der Duijsternis, en verwerringe weg neemt, waer door de stralen
van Light en klaerheijt De Natuer verligten en aengenamer
maken.⁷⁶
In 't verschiet door de opening der Deure van het ge-
245 leerde en Konstverstrekk, vertoont zig den Hage benevens
de Academie der Konstschilders ende geleerde &c. hare
Fundatie en oorspronk is te lezen in N. de Riemer beschrij-
ving van s.graven hage.⁷⁸

C: Ripa, f. 3.⁷⁷

M.V.H.

Finis

Annotation Historie

1. For the present allegory, Verheyden draws on all the authors mentioned here except Félibien.
2. Lines 7 ('generleij') - 10 ('hebben') taken from Junius, p. 217. This citation also occurs in van Hoogstraeten, p. 88.
3. Lines 10 ('Een') - 12 ('spruyten') cited from Junius, p. 217.
4. Lines 12 ('De') - 27 all but literally, and without acknowledgment cited from du Fresnoy, pp. 27-28 (in l. 13, Verheyden explicitly refers to the painter in du Fresnoy as 'Historie schilder,' adding the phrase 'in de Historie kennis' in l. 19). In du Fresnoy this phrase relates to 'Inventie', whom he describes as 'een Zanggoddin, die voorzien is met alle de voordeelige hoedanigheden van haar zusters, en ontfonkt door 't vuur van Apollo, verheftze haar boven de andre, en schittert in een schooner glans' (pp. 27, 31). De Piles comments: 'Men neemt gemeenlyk de toeëigeningen aan de Zanggoddinnen voor de Zanggoddinnen zelve; 't is dan in deezen zin dat de Inventie een Zanggoddin genaamt word. De Schryvers eigenen aan ieder bijzondere van deze zusters die Weetenschappen toe, die zy gevonden hebben, in 't algemeen de Geleertheid, om dat zy byna al de andere bevat. Deeze Weetenschappen zijn de voordeelen daar onze Schryver [i.e., du Fresnoy] van spreekt, en die hy wil dat een Schilder daar van overvloedig voorzien is [...]' (p. 27, § 76). Toward the end of § 76 de Piles compiles a bibliography which in his opinion ought to be required reading for any painter. In this connection, see fol. 3 and note 28.
5. Lines 28-34 are presumably borrowed, although their source has not been identified.
6. Cf. note 7.
7. Lines 35-47 ('traden') freely rendered from van Hoogstraeten, pp. 310-11, who, in turn, drew on Junius (pp. 101-02). The commas in lines 42-43, which are the same as in van Hoogstraeten, suggest a total of six artists, although there are only four: Aristomenes of Thasos, Polykles Atramitenus (both mentioned in this connection by Vitruvius in his *On Architecture*, bk. III, preface, 2), Nikomachus, and Skopas. The latter, however, was not a painter, but a sculptor and an architect. He is therefore not included as a painter by Junius, who is better informed than van Hoogstraeten or Verheyden.
8. Cf. note 9.
9. Van Hoogstraeten, pp. [353-]355[-361], *Van de derde vrucht der Konst, dat is, wat eer en glory door haer te bekomen is*.
10. Lines 59 ('Haen') - 61 freely rendered from Ripa, p. 358, *Studio. Oeffeningh in*

de Konsten, Studeeringe. The entire personification of 'Historie Studie' has been grafted onto this personification of Ripa: 'Een Ionghelingh bleeck van aengesicht, zeedighlijck gekleet, sittende: Hy sal mette slincker hand een open boeck houden, alwaer hy met groot opmercken in siet, hebbende in de rechter hand een schrijfpennne, en ter sijden hem een ontsteken Lampe, en een Haene.'

11. Cf. note 12.

12. Lines 67-71 ('overeenstemminge') cited from Ripa, pp. 200-201, *Historia* (2nd image).

13. Lines 71 ('Jongh') - 73 ('verdragen') cited from Ripa, p. 358, *Studio. Oeffeningh in de Konsten, Studeeringe*.

14. Lines 73 ('De geesten') - 77 ('toegestelt'), adaptation of Ripa, pp. 550-51, *Invention. Vindinge*, 'Jongh wort zy vertoont, om dat de geesten in de lonckheyt, door de hette des bloets, sich verheffen, en tot het verstand opstijgen, waer door geschiet, dat het verhael der dingen een overweginge maeckt, en uyt dieselve overweginge, worden alle Vindingen toegestelt.' A comparison of these two passages shows how Verheyden adapted Ripa's text to suit his own allegory.

15. Cf. note 16.

16. Ripa, pp. [4]-[5] [-11], *Decoro. Achtbaerheyt. Betaemlijckheyt, fraye Welstand*, 'Om dan de dapperheyt en hoogheydt van de deughd des gemoeds, die de Achtbaerheyt vereyscht, uyt te beelden, hebben wy hem een leeuwenhuyd omgehangen, om dat de oude den leeuwenhuyd voor een beeldt van de dapperheyt der deughd en de sterckheyt des gemoets uytdruckten.' As an attribute the 'Achtbaerheyt' wears a boot on his right foot 't welck bediet, dat een machtygh, edel en rijck man sijne achtbaerheyt moet houden met een edel kleet, dat sijnen staet past'; pp. [528]-[529] [-530], *Riconciliatione d'Amore. Vereeniginge der Liefde*, 'De Zapphyr, die van lichtblauwe verwe is, als de Hemel, sal ons tot een beeld van vereeniginge dienen, die een vrolijcke ziele in den stand der gerustheyt magh bereycken: want zy heeft een vereenigende kracht, en die seer voordelijck is om den vrede of peys te maecken [...].'

Although Verheyden does not mention de Lairese, he was indebted to him for the sapphire as a symbol of 'zuyverheyt'; see de Lairese, vol. 2, pp. 288-89, *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, '[...] want door de koleur van saphier verstaat hy [Heychius] de zuiverheid, klaarheid, en het hemelsche licht, het welk alles overtreft en te boven gaat, gelyk ons door de Leeraars geduurig werd voorgesteld, voornamentlyk om de gemeente in de nooit veranderende onbeweeglijkheid der zuivere leere te onderwyzen.'

17. Lines 81-83 ('deelen') freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 6, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*, 'Het borstbeeld van Pallas, vertoont de Godinne der Wysheid, als bevorderaarster deezer konst [i.e., the art of painting]; en het wit marmor, om de zuiverheid haarer kennisse meede te deelen.' In Verheyden it is Minerva instead of Painting who furthers the 'Historie Studie.'

18. Van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fols. 37^v-38^v, *Van Pallas, oft Minerva*. Also cf. note 21.

19. Lines 83 ('sij') - 86 freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 280, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*. 'Rechtsgeleerdheid' in de Lairese changed into 'Historie Studie' by Verheyden.

20. Lines 87-88 freely rendered without acknowledgment from Ripa, p. 385, *Studio. Oeffeningh in de Konsten, Studeeringe*.

21. Lines 89 ('Olij') - 92 cited from van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fol. 38, *Van Pallas, oft Minerva*. Also cf. note 18.

22. Lines 93-97 freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Laireesse, vol. 2, pp. 277-78, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*.
23. Lines 98-100 ('verbeelde') freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Laireesse, vol. 2, p. 278, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*.
24. Lines 100 ('dat') - 102 ('schrijven') cited without acknowledgment from Ripa, p. 139, *Memorie. Gebeughnisse* (2nd image).
25. Cf. note 26.
26. Lines 103 ('de werking') - 108 cited from Ripa, p. 358, *Studio. Oeffeningh in de Konsten, Studeeringe*. The Latin quotation from Aulus Persius Flaccus (*Saturae*, I, lines 26-27) was freely cited by Verheyden from the same image in Ripa.
27. Lines 109-11 ('maekt') are a contamination of two passages from two different personifications in Ripa: pp. 87-88, *Attione Virtuosa. Deughdlijck Bestaen*, 'Hy hout met groote bevalligheyt een Boeck in de slincker hand, om dat de oefningen soo wel van de konsten als wapenen, den Mensche beroemt en doorluchtigh maecken,' and pp. 1-4, *Academia, Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheit, van den Heere Giov. Zarantino Castellini*, '[...] wesende dit het voornaemste wit van den Academist, verscheydene boecken te lesen en te herlesen, om tot veelderleye kennisse te geraecken.'
28. Apart from the Bible, the basic standard repertoire of the history painter included the work of Flavius Josephus, Herodotus, Tacitus, Justin, Pausanias, Titus Livy, Plutarch, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Cesare Ripa, and Joachim Oudaen. These authors are therefore frequently mentioned in art literature. Cf., for example, du Fresnoy (pp. 28-29) and Gerard de Laireesse, *Grondlegginge ter teeken-konst, zynde een korte en seekere weg om door middel van de geometrie of meetkunde, de teeken-konst volkomen te leeren*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1701, p. 70. Their names appear in a collection containing more than one hundred items, entitled *Konstschilders Bibliotheek ofte de voornaemste Boecken welcke een Historie schilder noodigh heeft*, a manuscript of Verheyden in what is probably his own copy of K. van Mander, *Den Leermeester der Schilderkunst...*, Leeuwarden 1702 (library Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, no. K 308). Also cf. note 4.
29. Cf. note 30.
30. Ripa, p. 139, *Memoria. Gebeughnisse, Gedachttnisse*, '[...] om dat de Hond een Dier is van een groote Memorie en onthout, gelijk wy door de daeglijxse eervaringe sien [...].'
- Since the dog is a traditional symbol of loyalty, Verheyden also used the dog here to represent 'de getrouwigheijt der Historie' (l. 120). This is in fact spurious, as 'getrouwigheijt' means faithfulness in the sense of accuracy, not loyalty. What is meant is that a painter who is 'true' ('trouw') to history will produce a 'faithful' ('getrouwe') rendering of history.
31. Lines 122 ('een schoone') - 123 ('wezen') cited without acknowledgment from de Laireesse, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilder-konst*.
32. Cf. note 33.
33. Oudaen, pp. 63, 100, 106 (see Iustitie, note 15).
34. Lines 128-31 ('is') cited without acknowledgment from de Laireesse, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.
35. Lines 131 ('Haer') - 132 ('is') freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Laireesse, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.
36. Cf. note 37.
37. In de Laireesse (vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*) too, Painting wears a 'goude Diadema,' though de Laireesse uses gold to represent 'een der drie hoofdkoleuren, zynde het geel.'

The reference to Ripa, pp. 452[-453], *Pittura. Schilderkonst*, relates to gold as signifying 'edelheijt': 'De hoedaenigheyt van 't goud vertoont, dat als de Schilderkonst door d'eedeldom niet wort gehandhaeft, datse alsdan lichtlijck vergaet.'

The reference to Ripa, p. 139, *Memoria. Gebeughnisse, Gedachtnisse*, relates to the gem which this personification wears on her forehead, and which signifies, 'dat de Memorie een seer getrouwe opsluytster en bewaerster is van alle dingen, die onse sinnen door de fantasien of invallen werden vertoont: en daerom isse genaemt een kiste van Wetenschap, en van de schatten der ziele.' Verheyden identifies this stone as a diamond.

The reference to Ripa, pp. 252[-253], *Sicilia*, relates to the diamond as signifying 'Edelheijt': 'Het schoone ciersel van verscheyden edelgesteenten om 't hoofd, bediet dat de Sicilianen scherpsinnigh van verstand zijn, en edel van vindingen.'

The reference to van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 119, *Den Diamant*, is related to the diamond's meaning of 'stantvastigheijt': 'Den Diamant wordt [...] gheleken [...] by de volherdichheijt/ oft een vast voornemen.'

For the diamond as signifying 'volmaektheijt' and 'stantvastigheijt' also see de Laireesse, vol. 2, pp. 272-73, *Tafereel op een zegenpraalenden Oorlogsheld*.

38. Cf. note 39.

39. Lines 135-40 freely rendered from de Laireesse, vol. 2, p. 271, *Tafereel op een zegenpraalenden Oorlogsheld*.

40. Lines 141-46 freely rendered without acknowledgment from Ripa, pp. 452-53, *Pittura. Schilderkonst*.

41. Cf. note 42.

42. For the mask in this meaning see Ripa, p. 350, *Imitatione. Naevolginge, Naebootsinge* and pp. 452-53, *Pittura. Schilderkonst*.

43. Lines 150-53 freely rendered from de Laireesse, vol. 1, pp. 4-5, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.

44. For these attributes see Ripa, pp. 452-53, *Pittura. Schilderkonst* and de Laireesse, vol. 1, p. 5, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst*.

45. Cf. note 46.

46. This refers to the Belvedere Torso, a sculpture which was famous largely because Michelangelo is believed to have admired it. For a succinct account of the reception of this sculpture see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The lure of classical sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven and London 1982, pp. 311-14. Jan de Bisschop describes the sculpture in his *Signorum veterum icones* [ed. princ. 1669], p. 4, nrs. 24 and 25, as follows: 'Een Romp van Hercules in Belvedere, het werck van Apollonius Soon van Nestor van Athenen, uytwijsens het Griecs geschrift, wierdt van Michelangelo gheacht voor 't aldervolmaectste stuck wercks, als seydt Boissard, L, 1, c. 1, vers 38.' Verheyden borrowed from de Bisschop here, and not directly from J.J. Boissard, *Topographia Romanae urbis* ..., Frankfurt 1597-1628, although he would have us believe differently. Cf. W. Goeree, *Inleyding tot de praktyk der algemeene schilderkonst*..., Amsterdam 1697, p. 57, 'De romp van Herkules die daar onder ook word gesien, daar van getuigt Boyssardus, dat die van Michel Angelo voor het aldervolmaectste werkstuk gehouden wierd.'

47. Cf. note 49.

48. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, bk. iv, 28 - bk. vi, 24.

49. See van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fol. 8^v, *Van Mercurius*, '[...] zijn roede Caduceus, welcke de cracht hadde van twee twistighe te vredighen / daer sy tusschen beyde gheleyt werde. Om t'welck te ondervinde(n) / haer Mercurius eerst-lijc wierp tussche(n) twee slanghen die heftich vochten / de welcke stracx vriende(n)

zijn geworden / so dat de roede met twee slange(n) bewo(n)den is geweest / en wert altijd gehoude(n) tot een teecken des vreedts.'

50. Cf. note 51.

51. Ripa, p. 350, *Imitatione. Naevolginge, Naebootsinge*, 'Het Momaensicht en de Aep vertoonen de Naebootsinge van de Menschlijcke handelingen, om dat dese zijnde een Dier dat bequaem is om den Mensch met zijne gebeerden nae te volgen [...].'

52. Cf. note 53.

53. Lines 172 ('dat') - 176 cited from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 6, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst.* For the sphinx also see van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fol. 72.

54. Lines 177-81 adaptation of de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 4, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst.* Curiously enough, Verheyden equates Anteros and Intellect ('Verstand') despite the fact that they are two entirely different personifications and are introduced separately by de Lairese for that reason. In de Lairese (vol. 1, pp. 3-6, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst.*), Intellect wears a purple cloak which is spangled with gold stars and lined with gold cloth, and has for attributes a torch and an eagle, while Anteros, who 'de lust tot de konst beteekend,' is dressed in a blood-red cloak, with a laurel wreath on his head. He holds a torch, and has a palm branch lying at his feet. Verheyden contaminates the two personifications, and also adds as attributes 'een granate en Mirten Tak' (cf. note 61).

55. Cf. note 58.

56. Cf. note 59.

57. Lines 182-88 ('voortgaan') freely rendered without acknowledgment from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 5, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst* (cf. however note 54).

58. Lines 188 ('Om') - 190 cited without acknowledgment from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 6, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst* (cf. however note 54).

For the dispute between Cupid and Anteros about the palm see van Mander, *Uytleggingh*, fol. 27.

59. Lines 191-94 freely rendered from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 6, *Tafereel van de Schilderconst* (cf. however note 54).

The reference to Ripa, p. 273, must relate to *Cognitione. Kennisse*, whose attribute is a torch symbolizing sight, which is essential to the intellect. For the torch also see note 61.

60. Cf. note 61.

61. Lines 197-200 ('malkanderen') cited from Ripa, p. 99, Eendracht, with the addition of '(zeggen de natuerkundigers).'

Ripa, pp. [1]-2[-4], *Academia. Oeffen-plaets der Geleerthey, van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, 'De Granaet-appels zijn beeldsels van de vereeninge der Academisten, zijnde dese appels van *Pierio* gestelt tot een beeld van versamelinge van volck en geselschap, dat in eene plaetse by een vergadert is, en door wiens vereeninge zy behouden worden [...]'; pp. [49]-[52]-[56], *Venusta. Bevallighey, Aerdighey. van den Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, 'De Liefde [*Cupido*] hebben wy gemaelt op de gewoonlijcke maniere van een gevleugelt longhsken, en 't verlangen door den brandenden fackel' (also cf. note 59); p. 154, *Democratia. Gemeene Volk of Burger Regieringe*, 'Zy hout in de rechter hand een Granaetappel: 't welck *Pierius* seght, een beeld te wesen van een Volck, dat op eene plaetse versamelt is, wiens vereeninge geregeert wordt, nae de maniere van haere slechte staet'; pp. 359[-361], *Conversazione. Ommegangh*, 'De tacken van de Mirten en Granaetappels, die alle beyde bloeyen, en met seer schoone swieren onder malkanderen geslingert zijn, bedieden dat onder den Ommegangh, de eenighey, en waere vriendschap seer wel past, en datse van beyde sijden eenen goeden reuck van sich behooren te geven, en

leeren onderlinge van dese planten, gelijk *Pierius* verhaelt, malkanderen alsoo beminnen, dat, al staen dese Wortelen, oock verre van malkanderen, soo sullen zy sich nae den anderen voegen, en malkanderen omhelsen [...].'

62. Cf. note 63.

63. Lines 200 ('De Mirtus') - 201 cited from de Lairese, vol. 2, p. 279, *Tafereel op een Rechtsgeleerden*, with the addition of 'zegt g. d. Lairese.'

64. Cf. note 67.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Lines 205-22 cited from Zeeus, *Zinnebeelden*, pp. 83-84, no. 27, 'Dankbaerheit.' For Zeeus see SH, note 28. The poem is copied in its entirety, except that Verheyden replaced 'kerckgewelf' (Zeeus, l. 12) by 'kunstgewelf,' which, as he specifies in the margin, alludes to the 'academie,' or Confrérie Pictura in The Hague.

Oudaen, pp. [366-]368[-370], *Godvruchtigheid*, which extensively discusses the stork as a symbol of godliness.

Ripa, p. 42, *Riparo da i Tradimenti. Beschut tegens Verraed*, the stork protecting its nest against the night owl (not related to gratitude); p. 80, *Gratitudine. Danckbaerbeyt*, 'Orus Apollo seght, dat dit dier [i.e., the stork] de meeste danckbaerheyt aen sijne Ouders of voortteelders wanneer zy oud zijn, betoont, en op de plaets, waer zy opgevoet werden, rusten zy weder haer nest toe, haer selve van de onnoodige veeren, beroovende, versorgende dieselve van eeten ter tijd de Ionghskens bequaem zijn, om haere kost elders te gaen soecken'; p. 172, *Religione. Godsdiens* (3rd image), whose attribute is a stork; p. 178, *Impieta e Violenza sogetta alla Giustitia. Godloosheyd en Geweld door de Iustitie of het Recht t'ondergebracht*, 'De Oyevaer is in 't tegendeel oprecht van gemoed, want hy is Godsdiensstigh tegens sijne Ouders, haer in den Ouderdoom te hulpe komende [...].'; pp. [152-]153, *Commertio della vita Humana. Gemeenschap van 's Menschen leven*, 'En daerom noemen wy onse vriendschappen, nootwendigheden, om dat een yder noodsaeckelijck eenigen Vriend moet hebben, waer mede hy sijn voorstel en meeninge kan overwegen, en met onderlinge Weldaet d'een den anderen te recht helpen en te hulpe komen. Even gelijk de Oyevaers doen, diewelcke om datse langh van hals zijn, soo wort haer dieselve door 't langh vliegen moede, alsoo datse d'een achter d'ander met haere halsen, op malkanders rugge leunen, en d'eerste voorgevloegen hebbende, komt dan weder op de achterste rusten, gelijk *Plinius* seyt, ter tijd de vermoeytheyt over is'; pp. [210-]211, *Ajuto. Hulpe*, 'De Oyevaer wort aen de syde gestelt, als zijnde de waere beteycknisse van de Godsdiensstighheyt en van de Hulpe, sulx dat d'eene qualijck van d'ander kan zijn afgescheyden. Waer door het geschiet, datmen in verscheyden Medaglien van Romeynsche Princen, dieselve met groote verciersels vind uytgedrukt, die door de eedele natuyre van dit Dier worden afgebeeld. 't Welck een Man bediet, die tegens sijne Ouderen meelijdigh is en vermaert, om aen dieselve de hulpsaeme hand te bieden: Want dese Dieren draegen groote sorgen tegens haere Ouderen, wanneerse tot haere grijse laeren zijn gekomen, alsoo die haer nimmermeer verlaeten: Iaë niet alleen wanneerse tot haer Ouderdom zijn gekomen, de hand bieden, maer oock altijd, als 't noodigh is, wordense onderhouden door de naerstigheyt van de eygen jongen [...].'

68. Cf. note 67.

69. Ripa, pp. [139-]141, *Memoria Grata. Danckbaere Gebeugnisse van de ontfangene Weldaeden*, which illustrates the gratitude of the eagle by means of two stories, one by 'Crates van Pargameno' (i.e., Krates of Mallos), who describes how a man is kept from drinking poisoned water by a grateful eagle, and the other by Pliny, who relates how an eagle, prompted by gratitude toward the girl who raised it, continu-

ally brings her its prey. When the girl dies and her body is cremated, the eagle throws itself into the flames; pp. [545-]546, *Intelletto. Verstand* (1st image), 'De Adelaer [...] bediet het werck van 't Verstand: wesende dit haer eygen, dat zy het werck, in sich selve, buyght en schickt, overwinnende daer in den Adelaer in 't vliegen, die nochtans alle andere Vogelen en Dieren, daer in overtreft, als mede in 't scherp sien,' and/or pp. 546[-547], *Ingegno. Vernuft, Verstand*, 'De Adelaer op 't hoofd, bediet de eedelhейt en hoogheyt: waer over oock *Pindarus* de Menschen van een hoogh Verstand, by desen Vogel vergelijckt, wesende van een seer scherp gesicht, en veel hooger boven alle andere Vogelen vliegende'; pp. [591-]593, *Beneficio. Weldaed*, 'Op d'aerde [...] sal een Adelaer staen, die een Haese hebbende gevangen, dieselve in sijn rechter klauwe houd, en geeftse verscheyden slagh van Vogelen te eeten [...] De Adelaer op de maniere als geseyt is, gedragen wy ons nae 't geene *Pierius Valerianus* in sijn xix boeck verhaelt, alwaer hy seyt, dat als de Egyptenaers een goedertieren, weldaedigh en mild Man wilden uytdrukken, soo maelden zy eenen Adelaer af, van wiens roof allerley slagh van Vogelen, die hy self gevangen hadde, sich quamen aesen.'

Van Mander, *Uytbeeldinghe*, fol. 117, *Van den Arendt*, 'Den Arendt beteyckent oock eenen veerdighen snellen geest: want hy siet zijnen roof van verre / en heel leegh in een groote diepte / t'welck op de veerdicheyt des geests wordt gheduydt.'

70. Cf. note 71.

71. Ripa, p. 228, *Italia & Roma*, '[...]: het Caduceum of de Slangenstaf met vleugels daer achter, voor de Welsprekentheyt, geleertheyt en goede konsten'; p. 347, *Industria. Naerstigheyt* (4th image), 'Door 't beeld van *Mercurius*, die mette rechter hand een Slang-staf houd, en mette slincker een fluyte, daer door hebben de Oude, om twee oorsaeken wille, de Naerstigheyt afgebeeld: te weten dat zy nuttigheyt baert aen haer selve, en vermaeck of vernoegen aen andere. 't Selve wort door de Slangestaf van *Mercurius* afgebeeld, door de welcke, gelijk de Poëten versieren, *Mercurius* de Menschen, die alreede doot waeren, opweckte, en door de fluyte, versachtde hy de gemoederen, en verminderde haere moeylijckheyt.'

72. De Lairese, vol. 2, p. 294, *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, 'De Palmboom betekent het leven der vroomen en oprechten.'

73. Cf. note 69.

74. Cf. note 75.

75. Ripa, p. 89, *Poesia, of Dichtkonst* (2nd image), 'De Lier wort haer in de hand gegeven, om dat het Harmonische medeklinckende geluyt, seer vorderlijck is totte medeklinckinge van de Poësie.'

De Lairese, vol. 2, pp. 283[-284], *Tafereel op een Godtsgeleerden*, 'De Harp verbeelde in voorige tyden allerley konsten en deugden: en *Eusebius* meent, dat de zelve haare benaaming heeft van een Grieksch woord, het welk zo veel betekent als iemand in treffelyke en heerlyke weetenschappen onderwyzen: En zo hebben de Gezangen van *Orpheus* en *Prochus* onder de Heidenen, en die van *David* onder de Jooden, het volk des Heeren krachtiglyk vermaand godvruchtig en stigtelyk te leven: gelyk men aan *David* verder toeëigent, dat hy de menschen door de *harmonie* en het zoet geluid van zyn snaarenspeel, en de lieffelyke en stigtelyke woorden, van de ongebondenheid der zeden tot een beter leven, en tot de zoete regelen van het burgerlyk leven en de samenwooninghe heeft overgebracht.'

76. Lines 240-43 cited from de Lairese, vol. 1, p. 6, *Tafereel van de Schilderkonst* (cf. however note 54).

77. Cf. note 78.

78. Jacob de Riemer, *Beschryving van 's Graven-Hage...*, Delft 1730, vol. 1, 2nd part, pp. 640-44. These pages discuss the 'Konstgenootschap van Pictura,' which

had its seat in the 'Kooren-Huis,' where it had four rooms at its disposal: a room for the sale of paintings; a meeting hall; another 'tot de gemeene Teken-plaats of Academie, opgerecht in den jaare 1682,' and finally one used by the servant of the Fraternity or Confrérie.

Verheyden is referring to Ripa, pp. [1-]3[-4], *Academia, Oeffen-plaets der Geleertheyt, van de Heere Giov. Zaratino Castellini*, since the latter dwells on the origin of 'de eerste *Academie*, diewelcke aengevangen is, op de hof-steede van eenen Edelmar *Academos*: in wiens lieflijke hoeve, niet verre van Athenen leggende, de Platonisten vergaederden met haeren Godlijcken *Plato*, om met hem te redeneren vande Platonische wetenschappen [...].'¹ It is this academy which Verheyden relates typologically to the Academy of The Hague.

Appendix III

Verso of the preliminary study of the
Tafereel Van de Bevredigende Iustitie

Dit Sinnebeeld op de Iustitie heb ik geschildert
in den Iare 1736 voor de welEdE agtbare Magistraet
van s: Hage, staende voor de schoorsteen van
het comparitie vertrek van heeren Burgemeesteren.
De heeren Commissarisse alsdaer waren de heeren
willem van assendelft en den heer Jan Tenhoven, Fabrick,
d Aⁿ. Emants.¹

A. in plaats van het wapen van s. hage
komt 'er een vaes, waerin een vuervlam benevens
Een Laurier krans Rondom, betekenende Deugt,
Eere en Zuyverheijt &c.²
Voorders is het onderkleed der gerechtigheijt wit satijn, Den Mantel
purper Fluweel met goud geborduert zinnebeeldich.
het swaert en septer betekent magt, gebied; de weegschael 't Regt; de
olijve krans vrede en bermhertigheijt; de laurier en palmtak
Deught, roem; het oog en slangerond eeuwige wijsheijt, alle voor den
andere geschakeert. En een geborduerde Rand Rondom den
mantel der geregtigheijt vertonende. het kleed des straffen Engels is wit
Floers, En des vrede Engels Roose koeleur liefde.
de voorzigtigh: met de weegschael en spiegel en slang, blauw; het kindje
met het swaert, Feugemort; de stoel goud
verguld; de medailjes, goud; de pilaren, Rood marmer, als ook de Throon;
de kaptelen³ en voetstukken, wit;
De gordijn, groen.

Noch spant de Schilderkonst de Kroon bij brave Heeren.
En zwicht voor onverstand, nog geen grimas van Nijt.
Zij wil het vertrek van d. Burgervadren stoffeeren
Met 's Inwoonders kunst volmaekt door vlijt en Tijt.

Annotation preliminary study

¹ Meester Willem van Assendelft, who was a lawyer at the Court of Holland (Hof van Holland), and Meester Johan ten Hove, who took his doctoral degree at the university of Franeker, were burgomasters (November 1735–November 1737) when Verheyden was commissioned to paint this picture. At that time, ten Hove must also have been ‘Fabryckneester,’ a function comparable to that of the Alderman for Public Works. In 1760, the ‘Fabryckneester’ was placed in charge of a so-called ‘Opper-fabryck,’ an office that stands midway between that of Alderman of Public Works and that of Director of Municipal Works. Meester Johan Emants, who is presumably the Emants referred to in the text, held the latter office as early as 1735. These two burgomasters initiated the plan to extend the town hall. In 1732 they also decided, together with the other members of the Magistrate, to demolish a section of the Kerkplein façade to make room for the new building (cf. Herpel, vol. 2, pp. 350–57, and H.P. Fölting, *De Vroedschap van 's-Gravenhage 1572–1795*, Pijnacker 1985, nrs. 273 and 261).

² The drawing shows distinct traces of the erasure of the arms.

³ There are no capitals either in the preliminary study, or in the painting.

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Symbolen uit de werkelijkheid

Iconologische studies over Nederlandse kunst 1400-1800

Samenvatting

Panofsky's iconologie

De vier studies in dit boek zijn alle van iconologische aard. Momenteel vereist de term iconologie een beginselverklaring. Na meer dan een halve eeuw van groot wetenschappelijk succes, waarin Panofsky's iconologische methode gold als wetenschappelijk paradigma, is de iconologie sinds enige tijd in een fase beland waarin haar grondslagen opnieuw ter discussie staan.¹

Het belangrijkste punt van kritiek, dat al in een vroeg stadium naar voren is gebracht, richt zich op Panofsky's iconografische analyse die zich eenzijdig toespitst op de inhoud van het kunstwerk en zich niet bekommert om haar vorm en stijl: 'Iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.'² Zonder direct afbreuk te doen aan de resultaten van het iconologisch onderzoek, hebben critici vooral willen afrekenen met de pretenties van de Panofsky's iconologie door te wijzen op haar beperkingen. Veel iconologen zijn zich van deze beperkingen niet bewust omdat zij de betekenis van het kunstwerk vereenzelvigen met de iconografische, 'literaire' inhoud. Dit impliceert dat zij het onderwerp, opgevat als inhoud van een voorstelling, in feite beschouwen als een buiten de voorstelling liggend, extern gegeven. Met deze stelling geconfronteerd zal de iconoloog ten gunste van zijn methode aanvoeren dat de iconografische analyse slechts een tussenstation is op weg naar de veel bredere en dieper gelegen iconologische interpretatie, waarbij het gaat om de intrinsieke zin, of zoals Panofsky het zelf uitdrukte, om de 'Dokumentsinn' of 'Wesenssinn' van het kunstwerk.

Afgezien van de onhoudbaarheid van Panofsky's tragsgewijze betekenisstelsel (pre-iconografisch - iconografisch - iconologisch), kan tegen een dergelijke verdediging worden ingebracht dat ook de

diepere iconologische betekenis, evenals de daaraan voorafgaande pre-iconografische en iconografische analyse, refereert aan een buiten het kunstwerk gelegen gegeven, namelijk de cultuur en een algemene wereldbeschouwing ('Weltanschauung'), dat zijn diepere betekenis als kunstwerk vormt. Johan Vanbergen, een van Panofsky's recentere critici, trekt hieruit dan ook de onvermijdelijke conclusie dat als interpretatie van de diepere betekenis, de iconologische methode slechts een bijdrage levert tot de kennis van de cultuur en niet tot die van het artistieke verschijnsel. Wanneer de studie van de kunstgeschiedenis methodisch uitsluitend gebaseerd is op de iconografisch-iconologische analyse enerzijds en zuiver formeel-stilistische categorieën anderzijds, wordt ze volgens hem in feite de studie van de ongedifferentieerde voorstellingswereld van een cultuur en gaat daarmee voorbij aan de geschiedenis van het artistieke verschijnsel en de complexe structuur van haar ontwikkeling. De kernvraag van de kunsthistorische interpretatie dient volgens Vanbergen daarom ook te luiden, in hoeverre een voorstelling erin slaagt een specifieke zin tot stand te brengen die verder reikt dan de illustratieve betekenis die zij aan een tekst ontleent.³

Deze kritiek richt zich dus niet zozeer op de iconografische-iconologische analyse als zodanig, doch op die analyse indien beschouwd als einddoel van de kunsthistorische interpretatie. Afgezien van deze algemene en fundamentele kritiek is er ook kritiek op de wijze waarop de methode door Panofsky en zijn navolgers werd uitgewerkt ten behoeve van de interpretatie van specifieke groepen kunstwerken, zoals de vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst en de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw.

In eerste instantie richtte de iconologie zich met veel succes op de Italiaanse kunst van de renaissance. Maar de resultaten van het iconologisch onderzoek op het gebied van de Nederlandse schilderkunst hebben zeker niet minder tot de verbeelding gesproken. Met dit laatste onderzoek zijn onverbrekkelijk de concepten 'disguised symbolism' en 'schijnrealisme' verbonden, die beide het karakter van wetenschappelijke paradigma's zijn gaan dragen. De studies in dit boek, die vier eeuwen Nederlandse schilderkunst omspannen, staan allé in het teken van deze twee paradigma's die gedurende de laatste decennia in zo'n sterke mate het gezicht van het iconologisch onderzoek van de Nederlandse schilderkunst hebben bepaald.

Disguised symbolism

'Normale wetenschap', zo leert Thomas Kuhn ons in *The structure of scientific revolutions*, maakt men zich niet eigen door bestudering van

de grondslagen en theorieën van een specifiek wetenschappelijk specialisme, zo die al geformuleerd zijn, maar door het bestuderen van standaardvoorbeelden van concrete oplossingen van problemen.⁴ Panofsky's artikel 'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait' uit 1934 is zo'n standaardvoorbeeld waarmee generaties kunsthistorici zijn ingewijd in de geheimen van de iconologie van de vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst. Als aankomend universitair docent werd dan ook van mij verwacht dat ik onder andere dit artikel tijdens werkcolleges met studenten zou bespreken. Wat mij toen bij nauwkeurige herlezing het eerste opviel was dat de objecten binnen het schilderij die als 'specifieke symbolen' een rol speelden in Panofsky's interpretatie willekeurig gekozen leken en dat de interpretatie zelf eigenlijk verre van coherent was. Dit was, zo dacht ik, waarschijnlijk het gevolg van het feit dat Panofsky zowel de sacramentele dogmatiek met betrekking tot het huwelijk als de geschiedenis van het huwelijksritueel te weinig in zijn interpretatie had betrokken. In plaats van zijn theorie in twijfel te trekken, zag ik het als een uitdaging om zijn interpretatie verder uit te werken en waar nodig aan te passen. Naarmate dit werk vlotter en het zelfs mogelijk bleek om het abstract sacramenteel gedachtengoed te vertalen in 'disguised symbols', groeide tegelijkertijd mijn scepsis tegen een dergelijke interpretatie. Deze impliceerde namelijk dat Van Eyck zorgvuldig huishoudelijke voorwerpen zou hebben geselecteerd, die op ingenieuze wijze de dubbelrol konden spelen van werkelijkheid (met alle symboliek die eigen is aan die werkelijkheid) en 'specifiek symbool' (in de zin dat deze objecten tegelijkertijd functioneerden als dragers van door Van Eyck op die objecten geprojecteerde betekenissen). Van Eyck zou deze vervolgens zo hebben gegroepeerd, als het ware in een bestaand vertrek opgelost, dat zij de versluisde toespelingen konden worden op de belangrijkste aspecten van het sacramentele dogma.

Mijn scepsis nam toe naarmate het duidelijker werd dat de voorstelling zich ook vrij gemakkelijk liet interpreteren tegen de achtergrond van het toenmalige huwelijksritueel. Het begon er namelijk steeds meer op te lijken dat dit portret een nauwkeurige uitbeelding was van een specifieke huwelijksvoltrekking, en dus van de gebruiken en geschenken die daarbij een rol speelden. Toen naderde het moment dat het esoterische 'disguised symbolism' het moest opnemen tegen de realiteit van de sociale praktijk, en ik gedwongen werd mij af te vragen waarop de noodzaak eigenlijk berustte om Panofsky's paradigma met betrekking tot dit schilderij nog langer te hanteren. Ik raakte daarmee aan een kernprobleem bij interpretatiemethoden die uitgaan van het bestaan van 'schijnrealisme' of 'disguised symbolism'. Immers, als de symbolen zo goed zijn vermomd dat ze op geen enkele manier strijdig zijn met de (histori-

sche) werkelijkheid, zoals het concept 'disguised symbolism' impliceert, vervalt de bewijsgrond voor het bestaan van zulke symbolistische intenties bij de schilder. Hun bestaan kan, in het bijzonder in de profane kunst, soms geloofwaardig worden gemaakt wanneer men kan wijzen op een evident verschil tussen natuurgetrouwheid en geschilderde wereld. Daarom zit er zo'n tantaliserende kant aan het concept van 'disguised symbolism'. Hoe volmaakter dit type door de schilder is toegepast, des te meer onttrekt het zich aan de greep van de onderzoeker. Paradoxaal genoeg kunnen we pas van 'disguised symbolism' spreken, als de 'disguise' ontoereikend is, en de symbolen zich aldus verraden.

Van een dergelijke ontoereikendheid in de 'disguise' is op het *Arnolfini portret* echter geen sprake. Bovendien beschikken we over geen enkele contemporaine tekst waarmee inventie op basis van 'disguised symbolism' kan worden onderbouwd. Er bestond kortom geen dwingende reden meer om in dit geval als kunsthistoricus met zo'n hypothese als leidraad te werk te gaan.

Ondanks mijn afwijzing van de methode van 'disguised symbolism' als interpretatie-model voor het *Arnolfini portret*, heb ik de lezer toch deelgenoot willen maken van mijn interpretatie op basis van Panofsky's uitgangspunten. Van de lezer wordt daarom verwacht dat hij weet om te schakelen van de ene naar de andere wereld, van de wereld volgens Panofsky waarin de realiteit tevens kan worden opgevat als symbool, naar een wereld waarin de symbolen een onderdeel vormen van de realiteit. Ik ben mij ervan bewust dat ik het de lezer daarmee niet gemakkelijk heb gemaakt. Toch heb ik indertijd voor deze vorm gekozen omdat mij een confrontatie met een consistente uitgewerkte interpretatie volgens Panofsky's model vanwege haar hoge mate van onwaarschijnlijkheid een krachtiger argument leek tegen zijn theorie, dan enkel het door mij geboden eenvoudige alternatief: een uitbeelding van een specifieke huwelijksvoltrekking.

Panofsky's argumenten zijn beslist onvoldoende om in het kader van het *Arnolfini portret* nog langer te kunnen spreken van 'disguised symbolism', laat staan om er een fundamentele tendens in de vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst uit te postuleren. Daarom ben ik van mening dat een afwijzing van Panofsky's paradigma voor de interpretatie van dit 'profane' schilderij ook consequenties heeft voor de interpretatie van de sacrale kunst.

Er is in het verleden reeds herhaaldelijk op gewezen dat de iconologie een succesvol alternatief bood voor de op subjectieve criteria gestoelde stijlkritiek. De iconologie zou aanspraak maken op grotere wetenschappelijkheid en op grotere verifieerbaarheid van haar uitspraken. Of die aanspraken inderdaad waargemaakt zijn of waarge-

maakt kunnen worden, moet sterk worden betwijfeld; het is echter een feit dat de iconologie hoe dan ook enorm is aangeslagen en een hoge vlucht heeft genomen. Zoals eerder werd gesteld gaat het in de Panofskyaanse iconologie met name om het koppelen van kunstwerken aan teksten. En hoewel de iconologie bedoeld was om dieper tot het kunstwerk door te dringen heeft ze ons door het primaat van de tekst geleidelijk aan van het kunstwerk weggevoerd. Het kunstwerk is ondergesneeuwd geraakt door cultuurhistorische beschouwingen die allengs wijdloper zijn geworden. Vooral de vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst was hiervoor bijzonder ontvankelijk omdat de 'disguised symbols' waaruit deze schilderijen zouden zijn opgebouwd, de onderzoeker als het ware de gelegenheid boden, en in sommige gevallen misschien zelfs het alibi verschaffen, om met de talloze contemporaine teksten binnen handbereik, van elk schilderij een geleerd theologisch of liturgisch traktaat te maken. Een gegronde twijfel aan het principe van 'disguised symbolism', ook voor de sacrale kunst, houdt daarom in dat we ons eens te meer zullen moeten bezinnen op de vraag of we met de stroom van interpretaties op het gebied van de vroege Nederlandse schilderkunst te maken hebben met iconografisch-iconologische analyses, in de zin van een reële relatie tussen woord en beeld, dan wel met zuivere iconologische fictie. Ik vrees het laatste.

Schijnrealisme

De methode van het 'disguised symbolism' had betrekking op de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de vijftiende eeuw, maar de methodiek werd in nauwelijks gewijzigde vorm overgedragen op de kunst van de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw. Het kernbegrip werd nu de notie van het 'schijnrealisme'. Ook bij het concept van het 'schijnrealisme' wordt voorondersteld dat achter de realistische vorm van de voorstelling betekenisaspecten schuilgaan die cruciaal zijn voor een goed begrip van de voorstelling. Het zou in deze tijd vooral gaan om stichtelijke of leerrijke lessen. De idee van het 'schijnrealisme' vloeit logisch voort uit een andere vooronderstelling met verstrekkende consequenties, namelijk dat alle schilderkunst in deze tijd onderworpen zou zijn aan het klassieke, theoretische concept van het 'docere et delectare'. Wanneer nu dit beleerend aspect niet zichtbaar is, zoals vooral bij genrevoorstellingen het geval zou zijn, dan kan het niet anders, zo luidt de redenering, of dit aspect moet verborgen zijn. Net als bij het 'disguised symbolism' staat het aspect van de versluiering dus voorop, en heeft de iconoloog tot taak de 'verborgen' betekenisaspecten te ontsluiten. Maar ook hier kampen we met het probleem

dat de symbolen zo goed zijn vermomd dat ze op geen enkele manier meer strijdig zijn met de werkelijkheid, de bewijsgrond vervalt voor het bestaan van dit soort symbolen, tenzij men zou kunnen aantonen dat de klassieke notie van het 'docere' echt een *sine qua non* was bij het vervaardigen van een schilderij.

Onlangs is echter nog eens omstandig aangetoond dat tussen 1620 en 1670, de periode waarin de Hollandse schilderkunst zowel in kwalitatief als in kwantitatief opzicht haar grote bloeitijd doormaakt, de kunsttheorie in alle talen zwijgt over het belerende doel van de schilderkunst.⁵ Hieruit mag natuurlijk niet worden afgeleid dat er gedurende deze tijd geen moralistisch-didactische schilderijen zouden zijn vervaardigd. Integendeel, die zijn er legio. Wel echter kunnen we op basis van deze bevinding gevoeglijk aannemen dat het belerende aspect in ieder geval geen absolute norm was. We zullen zelfs langzaam weer aan de idee moeten wennen dat de vraag naar en het aanbod van schilderijen ook louter en alleen konden worden bepaald door het kijkgenot dat deze schilderijen verschaften, of beter gezegd, dat het kijkgenot bepaald niet afhankelijk hoefde te zijn van een specifiek belerende inhoud.

Wat het eerste opvalt wanneer wij het principe van het 'schijnrealisme' toepassen op de genreschilderkunst, is dat dit principe voor talloze genrestukken niet opgaat. Het probleem is namelijk dat een groot deel van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijenproductie in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw onder de noemer van genreschilderkunst op één hoop werd gegooid. We hoeven maar een blik te werpen in de invloedrijke catalogus *Tot lering en vermaak* om te zien dat er onder de noemer van genre heel wat schilderijen schuilgaan die absoluut niet aan de door het 'schijnrealisme' gestelde graad van realisme voldoen.⁶ Nog afgezien van enkele zuivere allegorieën, vinden wij in deze catalogus genrestukken waarbij de versluiering van de symboliek bewust slechts ten dele heeft plaatsgevonden en de symbolen zich aldus verraden. Zo biedt onder andere de schedel onder de voeten van Vrouw Wereld op het gelijknamige schilderij van Jan Miense Molenaer als wezensvreemd element binnen deze voorstelling een sleutel tot de interpretatie van dit schilderij als een vanitas-allegorie. Zo zijn er nog vele andere genrestukken, waaronder heel wat werk van Jan Steen, die vanwege dezelfde ambivalentie sterk de indruk wekken dat als een schilder werkelijk de behoefte had een moraal uit te dragen hij dat doorgaans op effectieve wijze deed, namelijk zo dat die moraal voor de beschouwer ook duidelijk van het schilderij afleesbaar was. Het is goed zich te realiseren dat het vooral deze groep van maar zeer ten dele realistische schilderijen is geweest, waarmee het principe van het 'schijnrealisme' aannemelijk is gemaakt.

Het 'schijnrealisme' kan zijn claims niet hard maken. Genreschilderkunst hoeft noch realistisch, noch moralistisch te zijn, waarmee de noodzaak vervalt tot versluiering. De vraag die rest, is hoe groot de groep van echte 'schijnrealistische' genrestukken is, zo deze al bestaat.

Onlangs liet Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann in een interview weten dat Panofsky hem ooit had toevertrouwd dat zijn methode door navolgers tot een karikatuur was geworden. Hetzelfde, zo meent Haverkamp-Begemann, overkwam Eddy de Jongh. De huidige kritiek op het iconologisch onderzoek zou volgens hem dan ook niet zozeer tegen deze twee onderzoekers zijn gericht, maar tegen hun navolgers.⁷ Naar mijn mening moet de bijl echter bij de wortels worden gelegd, omdat de karikatuur, als men daar tenminste van wil spreken, in de theorie ligt opgesloten. Alleen is deze in het werk van navolgers duidelijker zichtbaar geworden. Deze stelling laat zich goed illustreren met behulp van de bijdrage 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape paintings' van de hand van Josua Bruyn in de tentoonstellingscatalogus *Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting*. In dit artikel tilt de auteur het geschilderde landschap uit boven het niveau van het loutere 'delectare' door ook deze categorie drager te maken van religieus en moralistisch gedachtengoed.⁸ Deze poging om het landschap op één lijn te krijgen met de andere categorieën van kunst vloeit logisch voort uit de claim van het 'schijnrealisme' dat de kunst zou moeten beleren. Waarom immers, zo redeneert Bruyn terecht, zou op dit uiterst belangrijk geachte punt een uitzondering gemaakt moeten worden voor het landschap?

Het geschilderde landschap was al in het begin van de jaren zeventig een moeizaam probleem binnen de iconologie, waarover in kleine kring veel is gediscussieerd. In plaats van dat het zich als tegenvoorbeeld keerde tegen de theorie, werd het als een nog niet opgeloste puzzel terzijde geschoven. Bruyn heeft die puzzel uiteindelijk opgelost door de logische stap te zetten die niemand aandurfde uit vrees dat de voorspelbare oplossing vanwege haar hoge graad van onwaarschijnlijkheid zich tegen het paradigma zou keren. Die vrees blijkt ook uit Eddy de Jonghs bespreking van de genoemde catalogus, waarin hij voorspelt dat Bruyns artikel, dat hij overigens nuttig en belangwekkend noemt, 'koren op de molen zal zijn van diegenen die recentelijk een aanval op de Hollandse iconologie hebben ingezet en het kind met het badwater dreigen weg te spoelen'.⁹ Gezien de uiterst negatieve reacties die Bruyns artikel heeft opgeroepen is die vrees gegrond gebleken.

Een belangrijk punt van kritiek op die navolgers betreft de wijze waarop zij de emblematiek als instrument voor hun interpretaties hebben gehanteerd. De fundamentele rol die de emblematiek is toebedacht in het ontstaansproces van schilderijen heeft iconologen er zelfs toe gebracht om hun methode van interpretatie aan te duiden als de emblematische methode. De Jongh, die het gebruik van de emblematiek als *clavis interpretandi* heeft geëntameerd, zag zich door het toenemend misbruik dat van dit literatuurgenre werd gemaakt, genoodzaakt het roekeloos gebruik ervan te bekritisieren. Hij deed dit in de introductie van zijn invloedrijke artikel 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries'; waarin hij opmerkt: 'Too often they neglect to ask whether a real tie can have existed between emblem and painting. It should be superfluous to have to point out that congruencies in form between an emblem and a painting do not automatically imply congruent contents. Even a close formal resemblance between an emblem and a motif in a painting need not indicate any but the most general similarity in painting. Only rarely is the emblem a true *clavis interpretandi*.'¹⁰ Na deze terechte kritiek vraagt de auteur aandacht voor een groep emblemen van Jacob Cats, waarvan de visuele component wordt gevormd door een hand die een druiventros vasthoudt bij de steel, en waarvan de betekenis volgens De Jongh mag worden overgedragen op een lange reeks van portretten met hetzelfde motief. Uit mijn analyse van deze emblematische toepassing in 'Fruit and fertility' blijkt dat De Jongh het slachtoffer is geworden van de dezelfde fout die hij zijn navolgers aanwrijft. Ook bij hem hebben we namelijk te maken met wat ik zou willen omschrijven als een geval van beeldhomonymie, hetgeen wil zeggen dat er tussen embleem en schilderij oppervlakkig beschouwd wel overeenkomst bestaat qua beeld, doch niet qua betekenis. Dit is overigens een fenomeen dat zich ook veelvuldig heeft voorgedaan wanneer prenten met onderschriften als *clavis interpretandi* werden gebruikt.

Het blijft theoretisch mogelijk dat een voorstelling inderdaad direct is ontstaan uit een embleem. Maar op de totale produktie van genrestukken, portretten met bijwerk en stillevens, is dit een absoluut te verwaarlozen categorie. Het wetenschappelijk succes dat het traceren van dergelijke zogenaamde directe relaties heeft opgeleverd, is daarentegen omgekeerd evenredig met de representativiteit van deze categorie en heeft mijns inziens om die reden bijgedragen tot een verkeerd beeld van de zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijenproduktie en de wijze waarop schilders te werk zijn gegaan. De emblematiek heeft onze blik op de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw eerder vertroebeld dan verhelderd.

Zoals Panofsky's studie over het *Arnolfini portret*, kan ook De Jonghs artikel 'Grape symbolism' als een iconologisch standaardvoorbeeld worden aangemerkt. Ik begon te twijfelen aan De Jonghs interpretatie van de druiventros als symbool van de tweede maagdelijkheid toen ik deze niet in overeenstemming kon brengen met mijn interpretatie van fruit als bijwerk op kinderportretten. Zoals ik heb uiteengezet in 'Discipline for innocence' bestempelt dit bijwerk de geportretteerde als een produkt van een vruchtbaar huwelijk en tegelijkertijd als een produkt van een goede opvoeding. Ik kon niet accepteren dat de druif als enige vrucht hierop een uitzondering vormde. De kritiek op 'Grape symbolism' schiep echter de mogelijkheid om ook de druiven onder de noemer van visuele opvoedingsmetaforen te brengen, waarmee familie- en kinderportretten door schilders werden verlevendigd.

Deze metaforen over de opvoeding verwijzen impliciet naar een opvoedingsideaal dat op die schilderijen zelf evenwel niet of nauwelijks wordt geëxpliciteerd. Wanneer we dit ideaal willen reconstrueren, hetgeen op zichzelf een nuttige en interessante bezigheid is, dienen we er echter voor te waken dat we de betekenis van dit bijwerk niet gaan overschatten. Door de sterke nadruk die iconologen op het bijwerk hebben gelegd, zou men bijna de indruk krijgen dat het hier de hoofdzaak van het schilderij betreft. Evenals de 'disguised symbols' is het bijwerk gaan fungeren als een kapstok om cultuurhistorische beschouwingen aan op te hangen. Dit vertoon van eruditie door de iconoloog heeft er mede toe geleid dat er een overtrokken beeld is ontstaan van de inhoudelijke inventie van de schilder. Het bijwerk, het woord zegt het al, was bijzaak en in de eerste plaats een vormkwestie. De betekenis ervan was secundair en doorgaans van zeer algemene aard. Zo had de schilder om een familie- of kinderportret op te sieren een arsenaal van metaforen tot zijn beschikking waaruit blindelings kon worden gekozen en waar naar believen op kon worden gevarieerd. Kijken we zo tegen het bijwerk op portretten aan, dan wordt zowel de produktie als de receptie ervan begrijpelijk.

Schijnrealisme en allegorie

Paradoxaal genoeg houden iconologen zich liever bezig met het toekennen van allegorische betekenissen aan de zogenaamde genrestukken dan met het ontcijferen van het allegorische genre zelf. Het op grote schaal interpreteren van genrestukken als waren het allegorieën, heeft invloed gehad op de beeldvorming van de plaats die de allegorie gedurende de achttiende eeuw in ons land zou hebben

ingenomen. Omdat de achttiende-eeuwer namelijk geen oog meer zou hebben gehad voor de versluisde allegorische betekenissen van het zeventiende-eeuwse genrestuk, moest de rol van de traditionele allegorie in die tijd noodzakelijkerwijs worden gebagatelliseerd.

Nu de zinnebeeldige lading van het gemiddelde zeventiende-eeuwse genrestuk inmiddels weer tot wat 'reëlere' proporties is teruggebracht, behoeft het vermeende onbegrip van de achttiende-eeuwer voor dit soort schilderijen op zijn beurt ook weer enige correctie. Als argument voor de stelling dat de rol van de traditionele allegorie al vroeg in de achttiende eeuw was uitgespeeld, heeft het daarom zijn waarde goeddeels verloren.

We hoeven de programma's maar op te slaan die de achttiende-eeuwse schilder Mattheus Verheyden vervaardigde voor zijn allegorische decoratie in het raadhuis van 's-Gravenhage, om te zien welke prominente plaats de allegorie en het allegorische denken ook in deze periode nog inneemt.

Deze programma's, die in 'An exceptionally learned painter' aan de orde komen, zijn uniek in de geschiedenis van de West-Europese schilderkunst. Naast complete beschrijvingen van zijn allegorieën, maakt de schilder ons deelgenoot van hun onverwacht complexe betekenis. De schilderijen blijken tot in de kleinste details betekenisvol. Bovendien, en dat maakt deze programma's zo bijzonder, verantwoordt Verheyden zijn uitleggingen in een uitvoerig notenapparaat, waarin hij de betekenis van de afzonderlijke elementen van zijn allegorieën relateert aan bekende en minder bekende geschriften.

Verheydens schilderijen kunnen uitsluitend met behulp van hun programma's volledig worden begrepen. Het is dit aspect waarin dergelijke allegorieën zich wezenlijk onderscheiden van het gemiddelde genrestuk, dat onmiddellijk leesbaar was voor de contemporaine beschouwer, en waarbij dus niet naar complexe betekenislagen hoeft te worden gezocht.

Ondanks de kritiek die de iconologie al geruime tijd moet verduren, vooral met betrekking tot de Nederlandse schilderkunst, ben ik ervan overtuigd dat er naast nieuwe benaderingswijzen altijd een belangrijke rol voor de traditionele iconologie zal zijn weggelegd. Wat dat betreft deel ik geenszins het pessimisme van Eddy de Jongh dat doorklinkt in zijn eerder geciteerde opmerking dat de critici van de 'Hollandse iconologie' het kind met het badwater dreigen weg te spoelen. Tenzij hier de iconologische methode uitsluitend wordt vereenzelvigd met de paradigma's van 'disguised symbolism' en 'schijnrealisme', want deze hebben hun langste tijd beslist gehad. De 'Hollandse iconologie' dient te worden gereconstrueerd. Ik hoop met dit boek een bijdrage aan die reconstructie te kunnen leveren.

Noten

1. Zie voor de kritiek o.a. *Ikönographie und Ikönologie. Theorien, Entwicklung, Probleme. Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem*, ed. Ekkehard Kaemmerling, deel 1, Keulen 1979, en J.F.H.H. Vanbergen, *Voorstelling en betekenis. Theorie van de kunsthistorische interpretatie*, Leuven, Assen en Maastricht 1986.
2. Erwin Panofsky, *Iconography and iconology. An introduction to the study of Renaissance art*, in idem, *Meaning in the visual arts*, Harmondsworth 1955, blz. 51.
3. Vanbergen, op. cit. (noot 1).
4. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago 1970². Kuhn spreekt over 'exemplars'.
5. Eric J. Sluijter, 'Belering en verhulling? Enkele 17de-eeuwse teksten over de schilderkunst en de iconologische benadering van Noordnederlandse schilderijen uit deze periode', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4 (1988), blz. 3-28.
6. Cat. tent. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1976.
7. Roelof van Gelder, 'Gesprek met kunsthistoricus Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann', *NRC Handelsblad*, 17 november 1989.
8. Josua Bruyn, 'Toward a scriptural reading of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape paintings', in cat. tent. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum), Boston (Museum of Fine Arts), Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art), *Masters of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting* (door Peter C. Sutton et al.), Amsterdam, Boston en Philadelphia 1987, blz. 84-103.
9. E. de Jongh, 'Binnenskamers de wereld doorwandelen. Hollandse landschapsschilderkunst uit de zeventiende eeuw', *NRC Handelsblad*, 23 oktober 1987.
10. E. de Jongh, 'Grape symbolism in paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries', *Simiolus* 7 (1974), blz. 166.

Stellingen

1. De bestaande zwart-wittegenstelling in de geschiedschrijving van de Rembrandt-reputatie, als zou het oordeel van de Verlichting in alle opzichten negatief zijn en Rembrandt pas in de loop van de negentiende eeuw weer in ere zijn hersteld, dient te worden genuanceerd.

(J.B. Bedaux, 'A discussion on Rembrandt in eighteenth-century Amsterdam: Petrus Camper versus Cornelis Ploos van Amstel', *Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 3 (1986), blz. 38-56)

2. Het citaat 'Comme le Corps et l'Ame joints ensemble sont un composé naturel de l'homme: certaines figures et certaines paroles étant unies, sont un sens entier, et composent les Emblemes et les Symboles'^{*} is een treffende verwoording van de wijze waarop woord en beeld in het werk van de negentiende-eeuwse Russische dichter, Gavriil Romanovič Deržavin, zijn geïntegreerd. Er wordt dan ook ernstig afbreuk gedaan aan het werk van deze dichter indien, zoals gebruikelijk in de literatuurgeschiedenis, zijn teksten worden beschouwd zonder het beeld daarbij te betrekken.

^{*}*Emblemy i simvolny izbrannye, na Rossijskij, Latinskij, Francuzskij, Memeckij i Anglickij jazyki preložennye*, ed. Nestor Maksimovič Ambodik, St Petersburg 1788, blz. 1.

(J.B. Bedaux en V. Bedaux, 'Wort und Bild in den Gedichten Deržavins. Die Bedeutung der Emblematis', in *Miscellanea Slavica, to honour the memory of Jan. M. Meijer*, ed. B.J. Amsenga et al., Amsterdam 1983, blz. 73-116)

3. Uit de grote gelijkenis tussen *Het oordeel van Salomo* in de Pinacoteca Capitolina te Rome, toegeschreven aan het atelier van Leandro Bassano, en het gelijknamige schilderij dat Nicolaes Jansz. van der Heck in 1616 vervaardigde voor de vierschaar van het stadhuis

te Alkmaar, kan, mede gezien de wijze waarop hij zijn andere twee schilderijen voor deze ruimte concipieerde, worden afgeleid dat Van der Heck ook zijn *Salomo's oordeel* voor een groot gedeelte heeft ontleend aan een prent.

4. De laatmiddeleeuwse speldjes met sexuele voorstellingen, afkomstig uit verdrinken plaatsen in de Oosterschelde, dienen niet te worden beschouwd als carnavalsinsignes, maar als amuletten. In die zin verschilt hun functie niet van die van de pelgrimsinsignes.

(J.B. Bedaux, 'Laatmiddeleeuwse sexuele amuletten. Een sociologische benadering', in *Annus quadriga mundi. Opstellen over middeleeuwse kunst opgedragen aan prof. dr. Anna C. Esmeijer*, ed. J.B. Bedaux, Zutphen 1989, blz. 16-30).

5. De sociobiologie kan als hulpwetenschap belangrijke nieuwe perspectieven bieden voor de iconologie.

6. De reden van het stilzwijgen door Zuidafrikaanse (kunst)historici over het aan Jan Weenix toegeschreven portret van gouverneur Simon van der Stel, moet worden gezocht in de fysionomie van de geportretteerde, die duidelijk Indische trekken vertoont - een fysionomie die moeilijk te rijmen viel met het beeld van een van de grondvesters van de blanke beschaving aan de Kaap.

(J.B. Bedaux, 'The portraits of Simon van der Stel, first governor of the Cape', *Stellenbosch papers in linguistics* 17 (1988), blz. 1-18.

7. De Freudiaanse beschrijving 'distinguished symbolism' toont hoe diepgeworteld de bewondering van sommige kunsthistorici voor Panofsky's methode van het 'disguised symbolism' nog steeds is.

(J. Bruyn, 'Het probleem van het realisme in de zeventiende-eeuwse Hollandse kunst van Huizinga tot heden', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 13 (1986), blz. 210.